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JOURNAL

OF THE

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,

Instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

THE INDIAN RAILWAY POLICY.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,

BY EDMUND KIMBER, ESQ.,

ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1883.

LIEUT.-GENERAL W. WARDEN ANDERSON

IN THE CHAIR.

A MEETING of the members and friends of the East India Association was held on Thursday afternoon, November 29, 1883, in the Lower Hall, Exeter Hall, for the purpose of considering a paper by Mr. Edmund Kimber, entitled "The Indian Railway Policy."

LIEUT.-GENERAL W. WARDEN ANDERSON occupied the chair, and amongst those present were the following:—Mr. J. R. Bullen-Smith, C.S.I.; Major-General G. Burn; Major W. S. Bisset; Major Fenwick; Captain Bedford Pim, R.N.; Lieut.-Colonel H. L. Evans; Lieut.-Colonel P. T. French; Captain Molesworth, R.N.; Captain Maude Roxby; Rev. Philip Gast; Dr. Byranyer; Dr. E. Groth; Mr. Fung Yee (Secretary of the Chinese Legation); Mr. W. Anderson; Mr. C. W. Arathoon; Mr. Blax; Mr. J. R. Boyd; Mrs. H. V. Bull; Mr. A. H. Campbell; Mr. Camplin; Mr. E. B. Carroll; Mr. W. H. Castle; Mr. Clews; Mr. A. K. Connell; Mr. W. T. A. Cosby; Mr. and Mrs. Daynall; Mr. D. C. Dalgairus; Mr. James Dalgairus; Mr. C. T. Fonda (New York); Mr. F. W. Fox; Mr. Frank Gast; Mr. Gray; Mr. John Green; Mr. J. Kirk Hunter; Mr. Joseph Keen; Mrs. James Kimber; Miss Kimber; Mr. Uriah King; Mr. J. Kitson; Mr. E. Laycock; Mr. G. D. Laycock; Mr. Le Fevre; Mr. J. M. Maclean; Mr. John R. Manning; Mr. E. J. Eardley Mare; Mr. Gordon P. Mare;

Mr. and Mrs. W. Wilsey Martin; Miss Martin; Mr. E. J. Mulbyan; Mr. W. Otto; Mrs. Piercey; Mr. Danvers Power; Mr. D. N. Reid; Mr. Salomans; Mr. Tailbey; Mr. F. E. Thompson; Mr. Tozer; Mr. R. Grant Watson; Mr. W. Wedlake; Mr. Oswin Weynton; Mr. W. Martin Wood; Mr. W. Hamilton Burn (Secretary).

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The subject that we are to hear about this afternoon is one in which all connected with India must be interested, and I am quite sure that it will possess more than a partial interest to those who care for the welfare of that country. I myself have been some thirty-five years there, and therefore have, I think, some knowledge of the people and their wants. I was very happy indeed to hear that a paper was about to be read by my friend Mr. Kimber on a subject pertaining to the advancement and the welfare of all connected with India and the development of its resources. I had much diffidence at first in accepting the proposal to preside, knowing there were many more able and efficient persons than myself to do so; but I thought I might, by so doing, help to ventilate some of those topics connected with our rule in India which are of great moment at the present time. The subject which we are to hear about is one of these, and possesses great importance. I will therefore ask Mr. Kimber at once to read his paper, to which I hope you will give your attention; afterwards I shall ask gentlemen present to assist in discussing it on its merits.

Mr. KIMBER then read the following paper:—

In a report for 1882-83, bearing Colonel Stanton's name, which was presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, and afterwards printed by Her Majesty's printers, Major Baring is stated in his last financial statement to have said:—"We have now 'had two years' experience of the private enterprise policy. During 'that time a certain number of facts have been accumulated which we 'think are sufficient to enable us to lay down a definite policy, at all 'events for the immediate future, say for five years. We have, therefore, *very recently* addressed the Secretary of State upon the subject, 'but I am not as yet in a position to state what the final decision of 'the Government will be." The bare facts contained in this report are, when properly examined, not only extremely unsatisfactory, but not a little disquieting and alarming. He says, "Though much has 'been done in the past, it is clear very much still remains to do before 'the whole of India is adequately served by railways; but it may be 'hoped that by the means of the Railway Policy *recently* recommended

“to the Secretary of State, the progress in the future may be more “rapid than in the past.” It is clear, therefore, that both of these high financial and railway authorities have acquiesced in a certain policy which they think the Imperial Government ought to carry out. What that policy is they do not tell us. We are left totally in the dark. Earl Kimberley and the Council of State, although they must have been in possession of it for many months, do not condescend to inform the British public what it is. Mr. Cross, the Under-Secretary of State, though he was very able and acute in his address to the House of Commons upon the Indian Budget and the law of exchanges, never said a word about these recommendations. The fact that any recommendations were given by the Financial Minister at Calcutta to the Imperial Government seems only to have been known in Calcutta and not known in England until the publication of Colonel Stanton’s report in London, on the 22nd of October, 1883. What can the recommendations be? It would not be surprising to find that they were such as would promote the construction of railways on strictly business principles, without any of those paternal intermeddlings which are so often the vices of all despotic governments. The men in Calcutta can see and know what the country wants. They are on the spot and can judge what the people, as a people, can afford to pay for railway accommodation. The law of supply and demand in railways, as in everything else, cannot be evaded. Given railways to be wanted, and every one knows they are, the question is, what is to be paid for them? It won’t do for the Government of a vast country like India to say on the one hand, we won’t give a guarantee, however limited, either on shares or debentures, and on the other to stand in the way of provincial Governments or native Governments giving one. There are many native princes who would be delighted to join in a collective guarantee of interest on shares or debentures if they were not interfered with, and there are many English contractors and financiers who are ready to build and to raise money upon such a guarantee. The British Government in this respect has yet got to learn the very first principles of free-trade. Once put the native princes and the British capitalists face to face, without tedious routine, red-tape delay and regulations, and railway business will flow on as easily as it does in the United States. But if at every conceivable tick and turn in his movements the prince now and the contractor then finds himself hampered by long minutes, unfathomable reports, grandmotherly regulations and *doctrinaire* political residents, the whole country will go on groaning and travelling in pain, until the pent-up excitement of disgust issues in a revenge which, however wild, may have substantial justice as

its cause. Whatever the recommendations of Major Baring and his associates may be, they ought to be published.

Secrecy in a great question like this is the very worst method of Government. With Consols at 101 and money plentiful and cheap, the British public are of course anxiously looking out for sound investments, and it is of the utmost consequence to India that the present time should be taken advantage of so as to secure for the Indian people the speedy construction of railways which this state of things would promote. I am afraid, however, that under the present administration progress cannot even be hoped for. In the year 1880-81, 838 miles were constructed. In 1881-82, only 726, or more than 100 less, and in 1882-83, only 373, or over 400 miles less. In 1881-82, 2026 miles were recommended, but not touched. In 1882-83, 2338 miles remained unfinished of those recommended, while no less than 2924 are now under survey and are also recommended. So that we have no less a mileage than 5262 positively recommended to be constructed by the Public Works Department in India, and practically no policy whatever enunciated as to how it is to be done. On the moderate computation of £5000 a mile, this would cost about £26,000,000, but not a word is said by Her Majesty's Government as to how it is to be raised, though these very recommendations are presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, and are printed by Her Majesty's printers. In Lord Hartington's address to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in December, 1881, he said the Government were spending that year on railways and public works, but chiefly on railways, no less a sum than £7,884,000 from borrowed funds and from revenue. If so, how is it there is so little to show for it—only 838 miles that year—or nearly £10,000 a mile? If so much were spent then, what has been spent over the 726 miles of the following year, and what over the 373 miles of the next? Can it be that the funds are spent merely in keeping up an elaborate Public Works Department whose chief duties are to survey, report, and recommend, and do nothing? Is a costly establishment to be kept up in India simply for the maintenance of officials in order that their opinions may go to fill ponderous volumes in the public offices at Calcutta or Simla, or be refined down into unpublished advices to statesmen in London? Contractors and engineers are now so experienced that they will generally put the cost of construction in India at an average of £5000 a mile. Yet the same costly experimenting, as of old, is going on. While the recommendations of Major Baring and his fellow Councillors at Calcutta remain on the dusty shelves of the India Office, it appears the Imperial Government are

going on building State Railways entirely out of the country's income, when past experience proves that built in this way they only pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and cost on the average about £12,000 a mile. The divided responsibility of the officials, and the want of energy shown in all works constructed by the State, is the cause of this intolerable waste and extravagance.

Another curious part of the story is that Colonel Stanton's report was published in India on the 2nd of July last, but was not published in England until the 22nd of October, and yet he says, "Owing to the early date on which the publication of this return is necessary, full information of the working results, statistics, and general administrative details of each line could not be awaited." Why not? How is this? His report was "to replace the Annual Report hitherto prepared in England by Mr. Juland Danvers for presentation to the Houses of Parliament." Surely it was easy enough for the Government to have apprised every official in India of this, so that their reports could be made up punctually to the 31st of March, 1883. The date of Colonel Stanton's report is 18th May, 1883. Upon what possible ground could the working results up to the 31st of March not be obtained by that date? A delay of more than a month and a half in sending in these returns is perfectly absurd. No business in the world can prosper at this rate. In England we are accustomed to weekly returns from all the great railways, and the amount of income and expenditure from the Imperial Exchequer must be counted up on the very night of the last day in the quarter. Every considerable bank in the City knows its position punctually on the last day of every month, and no clerk is allowed to leave the premises until the balances are all ascertained. Upon what pretence are these well-known and sound principles of business habit to be ignored, flouted, and outraged in India? Every official who is not ready with his returns at the end of the year ought to be made to pay for the cost of transmitting all of them by telegram within a week afterwards upon pain of dismissal. Besides, if in London, on the 20th June, Mr. Danvers could always make up his report, how is it Colonel Stanton on the spot in India cannot make up his on the 18th of May? Mr. Guilford Molesworth had better exercise his pruning-knife in the direction of these dilatory gentlemen and save the country not only the cost of unproductive services, but also the chance of their standing in the way of the country's progress. He is a man who in the performance of his duty will not spare even his own relations, and before he returns to this country to take up a slumbering position in the India Office he ought to look a little closer into the Public Works Department and see what

economical reforms are necessary and possible. It must, however, be admitted that the negligence of official inferiors is not always their fault. The parties really responsible are those who are at the head of affairs, and when a great and elaborate department of able and learned men has been created for a certain purpose, it is the duty of the statesmen to see that that purpose is effected. The department is none too great or elaborate if the works were duly attended to and every man did his duty. According to their own showing, something like £13,000,000 ought to be expended every year. Less than half has been, and this extravagantly. The British public are ready to invest even £50,000,000 a year if they had a chance, but this is denied them. Routine and red-tape are at the bottom of it. This money would enrich the Indian peasant and give food to the European. It would open up the country and civilize the inhabitants. The carrying trade would be prosperous, and freights from east to west would be plentiful. Money, which is a glut at home, would fructify abroad, and the securities for peace all over the world would be enlarged. It is simply absurd to spend £2,500,000 a year out of income when that very amount of income could be made subservient to getting £50,000,000. If only half of £50,000,000 were guaranteed in debentures or shares, the whole could be raised. Railway iron, which is now so cheap, could be supplied in plenty, and in this way would prevent undue depression of that great trade at home. As it is, very few people make a profit out of it, and the sustenance of the industry is at present prices a marvel to many. When the price of iron is so low, therefore, and money is so cheap, it is the part of a true statesman to take advantage of this, and by a wise and judicious adaptation of means to ends to give just that amount of encouragement which is necessary to draw from the pockets of investors that capital which can be well employed upon such projects as railways in India. A full guarantee of 5 per cent., as of old, upon the whole of the capital is unnecessary and extravagant. It is unnecessary, because only debentures need be so guaranteed, and it would be extravagant because a 5 per cent. guaranteed stock would immediately go to a premium. Therefore a percentage which will obtain par will be quite sufficient. Neither will it do to hold out imaginary inducements to capitalists to build railways without a guarantee altogether. This only ends in collapse and disaster. Investors must not be told that their capital is to be at the mercy of every wind of vain doctrine in politics, or they will very soon close their pockets. Neither must they have huge and voluminous stipulations, conditions, provisions, and occult regulations, flung at

their heads in the shape of a concession which, though in the English language, but few Englishmen can interpret. Some that I have seen remind me very much of some articles of partnership which a solicitor once instructed his clerk to draw between two brothers who were farmers and horse-breeders. The brothers were very successful, but rather cantankerous. The solicitor, therefore, told his clerk to be very careful and put in a provision for every possible emergency. As the clerk's ingenuity sped its way over sheet after sheet he began to be amazed at himself, but when it had reached about 100 folios, of seventy-two words each, he was very tired and he thought it sufficient. It was then copied and sent to these unfortunate brethren. Soon after one of them called and asked what it meant. He had read some of it, but not all. He had, however, read quite enough and could quite see that he would not be able to look out of window without asking his brother's consent, and therefore he would not have a partnership at all. Such documents also remind one of the answer once given by a learned professor of Oxford to an old lady who asked him what was the meaning of a "paraphrasis." "My dear Madam," said he, "It is a circumlocutory, "pleonastic cycle of oratorical sonorosity circumscribing an atom of "ideality lost in a verbal profundity." "Thank you, Sir," said she, with the same evident contentment which the British investor is expected to show when he has concessions granted to him by the India Office.

Far better would it be, once and for all, to lay down a regular Lands Clauses Consolidation Act and a Railway Clauses Act for India, and establish a regular tribunal before which every application for a railway project could be made, just as they are made in this country to the Houses of Parliament. It would be easy enough to establish such tribunals in every province, whose duty it should be to grant every application, unless opposed on grounds similar to those in this country, which would justify the rejection of the Bill. We should not then have such grievous pieces of mismanagement as the Bengal and North-Western project, which, though brought out under the best of auspices, has remained ever since at a discount; nor the signal failure of the Government themselves in getting £4,000,000 for the Great Indian Peninsula extension. The natural law of supply and demand would have full play. Good projects would be taken up eagerly, and bad ones would find their own level and go to the wall.

This is not a question of party politics. Both Radicals and Conservatives alike are alive to the immense importance of promoting railway enterprise in India. *The Daily Chronicle, Times, Pall Mall*

Gazette, *Standard*, and *Globe*, have all echoed the same sentiments in England, while in India *The Englishman*, *Pioneer*, *Bombay Gazette*, and *Times of India*, have frequently condemned the apathy and indolence of the Government upon this great question. Whatever may be the conflicting opinions in England upon the Tenancy Bill and the Ilbert Bill, there is no conflict either in or out of Parliament upon the necessity of railways. Their decline and fall for the last three years is not only traceable to the want of a sound policy of encouragement, but also to the failure of the Bengal and North-Western Railway stock, brought out in October last year, to rise to a premium. This project was brought out with a capital of £2,200,000, of which £1,200,000 was subscribed before the prospectus was published. Mr. E. C. Baring took £250,000, Mr. Alfred C. de Rothschild took £250,000, and their friends took the rest of the £1,200,000. No complaint can be made therefore that the enterprise was not powerfully assisted. Within a few days the other £1,000,000 was, so it was stated by the Council, more than applied for by the outside public. As there were more buyers than sellers the shares ought to have gone to a premium. Instead of this they went to a discount and have ever since remained at a discount, notwithstanding that the Government has since agreed to forego its claim to half the profits after a six per cent. dividend had been paid. This concession has come too late. The mischief has been done. A project in the hands of powerful capitalists has gone to a discount, and it has affected the Indian Railway market to such an extent that for the last twelve months the extension of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway scheme has been unable to be floated, notwithstanding that it would have had the advantage of the Director-General, Mr. Juland Danvers, himself being on the Board. It answers no great purpose for the Council to state that the stock is well held and that whatever the terms of the bargain with the Government the capitalists will be compelled to stand by them. This is not the way to deal with eminent financiers whose business it is not to hold stock but to create it and to sell it. A merchant does not pretend to hold goods as an investment. He only buys and sells them. Neither does a financier pretend to hold stock. His business is to examine a project and if it be sound to recommend it to the public. It does not pay him to recommend an unsound one, for sooner or later its unsoundness is found out and it goes to a discount. Not only is his pocket then affected, but his reputation too. And on the contrary if the project is in itself a sound one, but from some arbitrary and unnecessary conditions it is seen to be unduly tramelled by the State, and for that reason it goes to a discount, his

reputation is equally affected, because the public are slow to appreciate the connection between the effect and the cause and put down to the discredit of the financier, a damaging result which is none of his own making. Those who think that it matters not whether such stock is at a premium or discount as long as the shareholders are responsible for the construction of the line, make a grievous mistake. They are no friends of India or of its people. They are blind leaders of the blind. The whole empire is interested in such projects being successfully launched, and he must be a curious sort of Government servant who can look with anything approaching equanimity upon the shares of a powerful company going to a discount when the very fact of the formation of the company itself shows that the Government expected them to be always realizable at par. The want of acceptance of these principles at head-quarters has blighted Indian railways, and since October last has prevented any from being floated on the London market. It has also affected present values. Any one has only to look down the registered list of shareholders at Somerset House of the Southern Mahratta, the Central Bengal, the Rohilcund and Kumoan, and the Bengal and North-Western Railways, to see how few transactions have taken place and how stagnant the market has been. The scores of well-known City names who appear as large holders of the stocks which they never intended to be, show how the very best elements of commercial activity have been drawn into the vortex of imperially patronized ventures, only to be told afterwards upon authority that now they are in they shall not get out, for the Government itself has determined to ruin their trade. This game cannot be played by any Government with impunity. It brings with it depression in trade all round, and an expulsion of English capital into foreign countries, when it might be used for the benefit of the bread-producers in India and the iron-workers in England.

If it be imagined that such a policy will all at once cause railway iron to be made in India, no more detrimental hallucination could be entertained. Eminent contractors in India and the Government itself have tried the experiment and have failed. It is found that with all the advantages of cheap labour and coal and iron on the spot, railway iron, even with a subsidy from Government, cannot be produced there so cheaply as in England, plus the freight from England to India. This must be so for some time to come. The bodily strength of the native is not equal to the task, and the employment of three natives to do what one Englishman can do, even in that country, at the blast furnaces and rolling mills, prevents the concentration of strength upon a given point and takes up the room that is required for moving

about. With improved living the native's *physique* may increase, but it will take several generations before his powers can be usefully and profitably employed in such a manner as to compete with the production of iron in large quantities by the drilled and skilled hands and powerful muscles of the Englishmen at home.

When Major Baring stated "*we* have now had two years' experience of the private enterprise policy," he spoke, no doubt, on behalf of himself and the rest of his colleagues on the Legislative Council in India; and when he said, "during that time a certain number of facts have been accumulated which *we* think are sufficient to enable *us* to lay down a definite policy," he intended, doubtless, to convey that he and his colleagues had come to the conclusion that a policy different from the so-called private enterprise policy must be pursued. As that policy had failed, it is not likely that he would again recommend it for adoption. Immediately after saying, "We have therefore very recently addressed the Secretary of State on the subject," he speaks in the singular number, and says, "But *I* am not as yet in a position to state what the final decision of the Government will be." This gives room for the supposition that he thought some or one of his colleagues, or, perhaps, the Viceroy himself, whom he was addressing, knew and could state what the final decision would be. Why a simple matter of plain business should be enshrouded in such mystery is in itself a mystery. No country can prosper at this rate, and, considering that the contentment and happiness of so many millions of people depend upon the right solution of this question, it would not surprise any reader of history to see one day written in letters much plainer than those of mystery over the portals of India to England, "*Mene, Mene, Tekel Upharsin.*" Surely a Minister of State in the position of Major Baring, whose duty it was to get in the revenue from 250 millions of people so as to meet the expenses of their Government, deserved to be trusted with the means to build their railways. The Home Government took great care to make him responsible for the 20 millions sterling per annum drawn by them upon him for Indian needs at home, but when he proposes some measure to make his country more productive he gets no answer, his suggestions are coolly ignored, and he is exhibited before the whole of India as a statesman whose conclusions, however beneficial for the country, and however much acquiesced in by his colleagues, cannot be carried out in consequence of some unknown influence in England. Soon after this happens his great abilities are lauded to the skies, and he is removed to another sphere of operations in Egypt. Whether his recommendations there are to meet with the same treatment remains

to be seen. But the courageous and disinterested opinions and advice of a man like him cannot much longer be suppressed. Whatever theories may be afloat in the minds of some men the hard facts of everyday life must be encountered. The people must be fed, and business must be transacted. If work is arbitrarily suspended, discontent must grow and the minds of men be turned from the practice of useful toil to the discussion of Imperial politics and revolutionary propaganda. The only redeeming points in this lamentable report are the sanction given to a local company for the construction of a line of 2 ft. 6 in. gauge from Burdwan to Kutwah for forty miles, to another local company for twenty-two miles from Serafuli to Tarkessur, the negotiations with a private company for a 2 ft. gauge railway of nineteen miles from Kissenganj to Kotechandpur, an important centre of the sugar trade at Jessore, and the sanction for four and a half miles to another company from Bareilly to Ranibagh. But these only amount to eighty-five miles out of over two thousand otherwise sanctioned. It is a good thing to see private parties springing up like this, but their efforts are totally inadequate to meet the needs of the country. The very sanction given to the construction of so many more is an admission by the highest authority that many more are required. Even the five thousand miles sanctioned in this and last year do not come near to what might and ought to be done. For instance, among all the lines recommended there is not one on the east coast answering to the Bombay and Baroda line on the west. A line from Madras straight to Calcutta, going through Nellore, Guntoor, Vizagapatam, Cuttack, and Bellasore, would not only save a circuit of nearly one thousand miles between those great cities, but would connect other towns of the first importance along the coast and pay better than any other yet proposed. Another good paying line could be made from Kathiawar through Cutch to Kurrachee, thus opening up a splendid grain district to our nearest port. It is very weak in a Government report to use such language as that regarding the Benares-Cuttack line—"It is hoped that, from its *probably* remunerative character, it will attract *private enterprise*." Something more than the language of hope ought to be used by a public department. Reading between the lines this hope means, in reality, "despair," because of the policy which is pursued by the authorities in London. It is absurd to suppose that private enterprise will be attracted when almost every available means are exhausted for the purpose of preventing its attraction. Had it not been for this private parties would have begun constructing this line long ago, and the whole of the capital would have been subscribed. Then with regard to the Bhopal, Jhansi-Gwalior and Jhansi-

Cawnpore lines of 385 miles we have this language, "*It is believed*" "that negotiations have been entered into with a Company formed "under the auspices of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company." How is it the language of belief is used when it is notorious that the contract with the Company was settled in London, and but for the terms of it the whole of the capital would have been subscribed for its construction? It has been the policy pursued at the India Office during the last two years which has stood in the way of this railway. Much as the people want it in India, there are other people in London who are so much in love with their own pre-conceived notions of Government and political theories that no practical good can be effected. No improvement, no reform can be carried out but that which meets with their approval. Instead of helping the country on, the India Office seems to be a vast establishment for keeping up routine and red tape. We are told that "*in Hyderabad it is understood that*" "the Nizam's Government has entered into negotiations with a company for the extension of its railway eastwards to Warangol." How is it more definite and business-like language cannot be used here? Unfortunately these negotiations require the patronage and sanction of the Imperial Government, and no sanction will for a moment be given unless the terms are such as will not compete in the London market with Imperial schemes. Hence if any contractors or engineers come to the Nizam's Court without the intervention of the Government, the Political Resident at Hyderabad is instructed to use all the power of the State to prevent an interview. This has been known to have been done, and but for one visitor being an American citizen he would positively have been refused admission to the Palace for fear of incurring the anger of the Resident. Thus American citizens have now a tremendous advantage in railway business over Englishmen. The Nizam is politically advised that certain rigid and unmarketable terms must be agreed to or the railway cannot be made. The consequence is, his country languishes and will continue to languish until the necessity for railways will be so great that when he wants them made prices of everything will have risen to such a pitch that the contractor's price will be almost ruinous to the State. He has already got into very serious trouble by listening to the unbusiness-like advice of politicians and office-holders, and the time has now come when he should be saved from his friends. It would surprise most people to find, after reading Colonel Stanton's report, in which these negotiations are referred to, that the company does not exist which is to make this line; and that after some financiers made a most reasonable offer, which was refused, others were sought who

required terms much heavier, which it was deemed wise to refuse. It is perfectly ridiculous for the Nizam or the India Office to come into the City and imagine that every one is going immediately to lay all his gold at their feet. When people who want railways built come into the City for the coin, they ought to remember that they have to compete with all the world. An Englishman will let his money go into any country or any enterprise so long as he thinks it is safe, and it will yield a good return. His business and commerce do not make any distinction between creed or nationality, and therefore, unless the Imperial Government of India can shake off its despotism and submit itself to the wisdom of the most ordinary tradesman, it will wither like grass, and those who rest under its shadow will perish. It is this policy which drives capital from the country and enables Americans to compete against Englishmen for Indian schemes. Already the whole of the stock of the Bombay Tramways is held in New York, and powerful American financiers are the first applicants for Indian railways. So utterly disgusted have many men become that they believe the country would prosper better even under Russian rule. Unfortunately the Americans also feel the incubus of the intolerable officialism exercised over railways, and this drives their capital away too, even though their status as citizens is exceptionally advantageous for contracts of all kinds. They look down with the utmost disdain upon the annual railway reports, and when they see immense cities containing hundreds of thousands of inhabitants without any railway communication their mechanical and commercial genius is fired with the glorious prospect of providing it; and though they are willing to work amicably and heartily with both native and European they find themselves fettered with a policy springing from an authority which does not know its own mind. Mr. Bright, Mr. Fawcett, and other statesmen less prominent in their advocacy of the progress of India, have uttered one uniform cry of the absolute necessity of railways, and for a time it lent an undoubted impetus to the cause; but a different feeling seems to have come over the land. Enterprise is dwindling, money is disappearing, confidence is abating, and men stand almost breathless ready to help one another, but wait as if on the eve of convulsion or disaster. Let us hope that by an outspoken discussion of wrongs and a fearless discharge of duty in bringing smouldering evils to light, we may yet preserve to ourselves a noble inheritance, and reap not the scorn and derision of a degraded and enfeebled posterity.

Mr. FUNG YEE (Secretary of the Chinese Legation): Mr. Chair-

man:—I should first like to ask one or two questions. First of all, I should like to ask Mr. Kimber whether the Indian railways are all made with iron or with steel rails also ?

Mr. KIMBER: Some of them with iron, some with steel.

Mr. FUNG YEE: Which is the most valuable portion ?

Mr. KIMBER: I think the iron rails, in consequence of the steel rails having only within recent years come down in price.

Mr. FUNG YEE: I think that, in the future, railway construction in India, which has such a large population and so great a need for railway connection, will be very great, when its use is better understood. Steel rails are now manufactured so cheaply in England that there is no doubt for the future that Indian lines will be almost entirely constructed of steel rails. I do not think it is advisable to completely cover India over with railways just at present. Some parts of the country do require railway connection, but at others there is not yet any great demand. I think it would be well, instead of covering the country with railways at once, if those portions were selected which require them greatly, and that there, steel rails should be used instead of iron. You will find the life of steel rails is much longer than that of iron rails. There is another method which might be adopted in some places, namely, steel-faced rails, but I do not think they will be found so good and lasting as steel in the long run. The first cost may be less, but when they are taken down the melting of the old rails will incur much expense, and iron rails incur still more expenses in its manufacture, and there will be no saving in the end; whereas, if you use steel rails, the first cost may be very great, but, in the long run, it will be most economical, although doubtless you may not get a large interest on the capital invested at first. As the object of railway construction in India is to promote the welfare of the people of India, their true interests must be taken into account in preference to mere considerations of profit. With regard to the narrow gauge rails, I do not think that for such an immense country as India those narrow gauges would answer the purpose, because you will find that they will not be sufficient to meet the demands upon the railways. I think the English standard gauge would suit India very well for the carriage of passengers and goods' traffic—better than the $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. or 2 ft. gauges, which I am convinced will not answer. The American system of railway construction, good as it is, is, I

should think, inferior to the English system, because the English people have had more experience in railway construction, which was indeed initiated here. The Americans certainly go very fast: they construct their railways at a cheaper rate to get to work more quickly, but you will find afterwards that the cost of maintenance will be very great; whereas the English system may entail greater expense at first, but the maintenance expenses will be much diminished, which is of course a point that ought to be taken into serious consideration. This is a matter in which I have for a long time taken very great interest, and I thought I would take this opportunity of hearing Mr. Kimber's paper, and offer these few remarks, although they may seem commonplace to some gentlemen present.

MR. W. MARTIN WOOD :—Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen, Mr. Kimber has plunged us into the midst of a very large and difficult subject, which is one I have myself followed during many years in all its different phases; but I have not the skill to compress any general view of the matter into ten minutes' space. There are, however, two or three broad grounds on which I quite coincide with Mr. Kimber, with certain reservations. As to all that he has said with regard to the importance and value of prompt and early publicity, nothing needs to be more emphatically asserted. In a paper which is in *The Journal of the Association* (vol. viii, p. 215)—a paper which I read in Bombay—I pointed out that one general cure for the defects in the administration of public works, alluding to the mistakes and extravagances that have been so often criticized, was early and prompt publicity. Of course I am aware, more so than Mr. Kimber may be, of the inevitable difficulties that do arise and must obtain under any bureaucratic system. He has brought out some of the more striking aspects of that, but he does not, I think, quite realize the difficulties there are in technical detail. In regard, for instance, to Colonel Stanton's Report, there seems to have been some clumsiness or delay in issuing it in this country; but otherwise, seeing that it was completed on the 18th of May, that is only a matter of six weeks after the term to which it relates—that is not at all bad in a country like India. In those scornful passages in which Mr. Kimber contrasts the facility with which returns are got out in this country and the delay that takes place in India, I do not think he has weighed the very great differences there are between the two countries. (Hear, hear.) Of course I coincide with Mr. Kimber entirely in his particular proposition that the cheap capital of England should be employed and expended on productive works in India. Nothing that we can say

with regard to that proposition is too strong; but, as with all good principles and all good measures, that requires to be defined and arranged. Mr. Kimber has stated the case very strongly from the point of view of those who insist that English or European concessionaires should have every facility and the most bountiful terms granted to them. But then, as he has also said, governments or communities when they come to this country have to compete with others, and they must remember what others can afford. I do not quite follow his remarks about "the failure of the Bengal and North-Western Railway "stock to rise to a premium." If any difficulty was found in placing a stock on which 6 per cent. is guaranteed, it only goes to show that the English capitalist is not willing to invest at a reasonable rate of interest. Perhaps I have not correctly understood this part of the paper—

Mr. KIMBER: The concession was that they were to pay 4 per cent. out of capital until they earned profits, and then the government were to have half of the profits after the company earned 6 per cent. There was not 6 per cent. guaranteed.

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD: Then there is no guarantee?—(Mr. Kimber: No.)—Mr. Martin Wood: Then of course my remark does not apply. But I was going to say this: there has been no difficulty as yet in raising any amount of capital for railways and other public works in India with a government guarantee. As Mr. Kimber puts it in one place, "a full guarantee of five per cent. as of old upon the "whole of the capital is unnecessary and extravagant." I quite agree that the day has gone by for a five per cent. guarantee. And you must remember that a good deal of the caution and anxiety manifested by the authorities who are responsible for India as to the terms on which these concessions should be granted is due to the fearful extravagance in which the five per cent. Railway Guarantee resulted. It is quite possible that no other system would have done at that time in India, and that without it the necessary capital would not have been entertained. But the extravagance and waste in construction, and the negligence in management, induced by this generous guarantee, were such, that the great caution shown by the men responsible for the government of India—it was Lord Lawrence who first set his foot down there—arises naturally from the fact that those authorities are in trust for certain great national interests, and they must not give or fritter away their trust. (Hear, hear.) There are several portions of Mr. Kimber's paper that I should like to

have referred to in detail, but other speakers will probably take up these. With regard to his remarks as to the production of iron in India, what he says is perfectly true in a sense—that India at present cannot compete with England; but you must remember that the efforts that have been made and are still being made to develop the industries of India rest upon a very sound basis, although it is not easy to carry out that policy in face of the commercial competition of the market. Major Baring, and those who acted with him, think that it is worth while sacrificing a little in the way of temporary outlay to support these indigenous industries for a time until they are able to hold their own. I may just remark in a general way, that Mr. Kimber has not mastered what I regard as one of the first principles affecting the alignment of railways in India—as regards the coast line. He gives two illustrations, and limits himself to these two. He proposes a coast railway from Madras to Calcutta, and then from Kathiawar through Cutch to Kurrachee—when he speaks of Kurrachee, I suppose he means Hyderabad in Sind, for he would not, I presume, attempt to bridge the Indus at that point. Now, I wish to point out—and I think those who examine these subjects closely, will follow me—that, other things being equal, a railway in a large peninsula like India will pay best if it runs transversely to the coast, and not parallel with it. With regard to that railway, for instance, from Kathiawar to Kurrachee, or rather Hyderabad, it would run through a large part of desert country, and it is practically parallel with the sea. You want your railways to get to the sea and inland by the most direct route possible. That is the right principle and one of very great importance. Mr. Kimber in sketching out that line on the Madras coast, the line to Calcutta, shows that he has not yet mastered the practical aspect of this important branch of the Indian railway question. And there are many others, very large details, which are thoroughly well understood by Colonel Stanton and others who are responsible for railway extension in India, that have to be taken into account, and which the public here may take it for granted do weigh in their minds against the strong wishes which many of us feel to see railways extended by thousands of miles a year. Mr. Kimber in one or two places has drawn a comparison between America and India; but there is scarcely any comparison which could be more fallacious. Except in the one similarity of large distances, the circumstances of America with its virgin soil, its energetic and increasing people, as compared with the circumstances of India, are as different as possibly could be. But if any American projectors can see their way to develop India more than those who have known

India for two or three generations, let them try. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the Chanda Railway, Mr. Kimber has told us a good deal about it; yet he has not, so far as I am aware, stated the last stage which that peculiar question has reached. I feel very strongly on this subject. This railway that is proposed to be made from Secunderabad through the centre of the Nizam's dominions up to Chanda in our Central Provinces is, I contend, a railway which can never pay, certainly not on the extravagant terms which the Nizam's agent has been instructed to offer in this country. But Mr. Kimber says: "Unfortunately these negotiations require the patronage and sanction of the Imperial Government;" and he is saying that apparently in disparagement: but in this instance, these negotiations have had the sanction of the Imperial Government, and had that sanction in a way which I do not think was advisable or proper. Sanction has been given to the agent of the Nizam to obtain capital for this railway, as, I contend, on extravagant terms, upon which the railway can never succeed. It seems on the surface rather puzzling why the sanction of the Imperial Government, which, as Mr. Kimber remarks, is so charily given in these cases, should have been given in this. I will mention the secret—it is an open secret. The motive I believe will be found to be this—it is very difficult indeed now to get direct evidence on the point, but this will eventually be found to be the explanation—this railway will afford a means of communication between the north and the south of India right down into the Hyderabad territories. It is a "military-strategic" idea; and for the sake of this, as I consider, fanciful object about military strategy, our officials assist the agent of the Nizam's government to make these extravagant terms for the railway at the expense of the native state; whereas, as Mr. Kimber suggests, they would usually resist or oppose any combination of native states coming to England to treat for railway capital on ordinary grounds and ordinary terms. In conclusion, I would say we are under obligation to Mr. Kimber for bringing the subject forward. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. M. MACLEAN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—This paper of Mr. Kimber's deals with a very interesting question; and as one who has had a great deal of experience in India, and has known much about the working of railways in that country, I must say that I feel it necessary to protest against the very strong language that is used in some portions of the paper in respect to the policy pursued by the Government of India. I think it is absurd, if I may use the word, for anybody to say here that there are many

men in India who "believe the country would prosper better even "under Russian rule." I never met anybody who had such an idea in his head. Then again, what Mr. Kimber says about native princes in India being allowed to make what terms they please with speculators who go out there and ask them to give concessions, is, I think, not conceived in the interests of the people of India themselves. You must be well aware that the Government of India has to be very careful indeed to see that the native princes are not led into extravagances and led on to lay oppressive taxes on their subjects. It would be an immense misfortune for India if that country were to become, as Egypt has been, the happy hunting ground of greedy speculators from Europe and America. Therefore, when we hear so much about free enterprise, we should always bear this in mind, that the Government of India has the interests of the natives of that country to protect, and that its first duty is to see that they are not oppressed by heavy taxation caused by the extravagance of the princes who rule them. Speaking on the general subject, I must say I join with Mr. Kimber in regretting that so little has been done of late years in extending railways in India. Everybody must admit that railway extension is one of the great wants of the country, and the reason why so little has been done seems to me to be this: that of late years the Government of India has had no settled railway policy at all. In the old days, when agreements were made with the guaranteed companies, everybody knew on what principles the railways in India were to be constructed, and on the whole that guarantee system has been, I must say, a splendid success. Then a new idea sprang up in India. Every influential man connected with the Government thought that the guaranteed railways were doing too well, and that it would be much better for the country if the State took in hand the construction and management of the railways entirely by itself. Well, so far as we can judge at present, I am afraid that that experiment of making State railways has been a complete failure. The expense has been very much heavier than the Government ever anticipated, and the returns have been very much smaller. Now we do not know what is to be done. Sir Evelyn Baring started the idea of having recourse to private enterprise again; but I think he started it in a very unfortunate way. I conceive that if we are to have private enterprise in that country we ought to have rules laid down as to the proper terms to be made with private companies; and that it is wrong for the Government of India to go and enter into secret contracts with certain capitalists in London or elsewhere, however influential and honourable those men may be. I do not

think that is the way really to promote private enterprise in the construction of railways in India. My belief is, that certain principles should be laid down, and that the Government then should invite freely tenders from all the world—at least from capitalists in England—to see who will do the work cheaply and best. Now, Mr. Kimber has told us that he does not know what is the present line of policy of the Government of India with regard to the construction of public works out there. I believe it is pretty generally known that the India Office—or at least Lord Kimberley—has come to the resolution not to do anything at present: the whole scheme of public works, so far at least as railways are concerned, is to be hung up for the present, and the Secretary of State is to apply to the House of Commons next Session for a Select Committee to inquire into and determine what works should be constructed in India, and on what principle the capital required for them should be raised. Well, I must say for myself, that, although it seems a pity that works should be delayed in this way, I think this is a proper resolution for the Government to take, because I am persuaded that much of the hesitation seen in the working of a public works policy of late years is due to the fact that there are in the Council of India at the present moment gentlemen who committed themselves to certain fixed ideas of railway policy while they were connected with the Government in India, and who now are still so wedded to their own ideas that they will not allow any progress to be made which seems to them to conflict with them. In fact, measures are battled about from one side to the other in the India Office, and it seems to me a very great misfortune for India that the Council of India at Westminster has the decision in these matters. It consists of a number of men who have retired from India, who are wedded to their own old ideas, who meet in secret, and who have no desire really that any progress should be made. It is very much the fashion to say that India is not to be governed by public opinion in this country, and so on; but that is no use talking of. Public opinion in this country must settle all questions relating to India, and it is quite time that should be admitted, and that questions of Indian policy should be brought freely before both Houses of Parliament. For my part I should not be sorry to-morrow to see the Indian Council altogether abolished, and the men who belong to it—men who now hold pensions from the Government, and who assist in prolonging the reign of inaction—able to get seats in the House of Commons, and to state their ideas freely there before the public. I think it will be a very great advantage when the Public Works Committee of the House of Commons meets and discusses

these questions before all the world, and lays down the rules of an Indian railway policy which can be regularly carried out in future years.

Mr. A. K. CONNELL: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—It must be confessed, after hearing this wiggling—if I may use the word—which Mr. Kimber has given to the Indian Government, that the Indian Government, in the matter of its railway policy, appears to be in a very foolish position. It has, as is well known, raised a capital of about one hundred millions by its guarantee of the railway companies, and has itself spent a capital of thirty-seven millions on State railways. It is proclaiming from the house-tops that its public works policy is a gigantic success; that the railways now return 5·37 per cent. on their whole capital; and that the net profits of the Government are very great, getting on to one million; and that the country—at least so Sir John Strachey tells us—is most prosperous. And it certainly seems that when ironmasters and capitalists in England want to find a market for their iron and investments for their capital, it is rather hard for the Government to turn round upon them and say, “No; we shall not give you a guarantee (that is what I understand Mr. Kimber complains of), and we shall not let you construct railways yourselves.” No wonder in that state of circumstances that business men seem to get very angry and think that they are badly treated. Mr. Kimber has referred to the Railway Report for last year, written by Colonel Stanton; but I think if he will refer to page 49 in that Report he will see some figures which, perhaps, will explain a little the hesitation of the Government in carrying out their railway policy. You find there, if you look under the head of “Guaranteed Railways,” that since 1858 the loss to the State has been over twenty-five millions sterling. That is only since 1858; and being desirous to get at the actual state of facts, I wrote to the India Office to find out what the loss had been before, and I find it was over three millions. Therefore, if you add that to the twenty-five millions, you find that the Government has lost on guaranteed railways up to the end of 1884, twenty-eight millions. We now turn to the “State Railways” in the next column. There, up to the end of 1884 again, it is reckoned that the State has lost nearly five millions sterling. We turn to the East Indian Railway, and find that there is a surplus profit from the date of purchase up to the present date of over five millions; but if Mr. Kimber will refer to a Parliamentary Return moved for last Session by Mr. Stanhope, he will find that the five millions profit gained from the East Indian Railway about covers the sum which has

been spent on frontier railways, and what are called protective railways. Four millions have been spent out of the ordinary revenues of India on frontier railways, and something under a million on protective railways. Therefore there still remains to the Government on guaranteed and State railways up to the present date a deficit of thirty-three millions sterling. That is one point which Mr. Kimber does not seem to have considered. A second point is the question of loss by exchange. The loss by exchange to the Indian Government, I need not tell anyone who has read the Financial Statements, is lumped in one sum, and now amounts to about three millions a year. The loss by exchange is the loss on what are called the home remittances on the Government of India's dealings in England; and one-third of those remittances are railway remittances; therefore there is a loss of one million a year at the present rate of exchange to the Government of India on the railways. And, though the railways are said for the last few years to be yielding a surplus profit, if you deduct the loss by exchange, you will find that they are not yielding that at all. If you add that loss of one million a year during the last four years, or four millions to the thirty-three millions I have already mentioned, you will find that the State has lost on railways, up to the end of 1884, thirty-seven millions. And how have those thirty-seven millions been paid? They have been paid out of taxes. Mr. Kimber says that the Government of India has yet to learn the first principles of Free Trade. It certainly has to learn those principles; for if it taxes the people during thirty years to the amount of thirty-seven millions in order to force on the country railways in preference to the old carrying trade, I say that that is Protectionism and not Free Trade. It is the Bounty system all over again. They say to the people of India, "You shall pay so much in taxes (thirty-seven millions) in order that you may have railways constructed." That is the second point which it seems to me Mr. Kimber has not considered. Then also, I know it is said that if capital is raised in England (I think Mr. Martin Wood has taken up this portion of the argument) and raised cheaply, the loss by exchange will be less. So it will for a time, because the India Office is able to pay up its home debts out of the capital entrusted to it. But what will happen ten years hence, when that capital has been expended, and there is nothing but remittances for interest? What will the state of the rupee be then? "

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD: If it is properly expended there will be a profit.

Mr. A. K. CONNELL : But I have proved already that none of the railways have yet paid, therefore how can we assume there will be a profit? Supposing there is more careful expenditure that may be the case. Then it is said the wheat trade of India will be extended, and that exports will be increased; and, as we all know, when exports increase, there will be more silver remitted to India, and the loss by exchange will again be less. But has the rupee been appreciated during the last few years while the export trade has been so enormously increased? The wheat trade has gone up considerably, but the rupee remains this year, I fancy, quite as low as it was four years ago. And the reason is obvious. The more railways there are built in India, the more the profits of the carrying trade of India go into the pockets of English investors and go out of the pockets of the natives. The result is that India does not—that is to say, the natives of India—do not take that amount of silver which you might otherwise naturally expect they would, but she has to pay more debt in the shape of railway remittances, and has to export more goods—more grain. The profits on that grain trade go into the pockets of the people who conduct it; that is to say, chiefly Englishmen—shipowners and railway investors. These points Mr. Kimber seems not to have considered at all. Further, I would ask another question. Is it so absolutely certain that the railways, considering that they have entailed this taxation upon India, are such an enormous benefit to India? They may be a benefit to the investors in England; they may be a benefit to the ironmasters; but are they a benefit to the natives as a whole? No doubt the trade of India has been enormously quickened during the last thirty years; anyone who compares the export trade of India now, with what it was thirty years ago, will see that at once. But has India really got richer by it? I have read through many more Blue Books, I dare say, than most people on the subject. I have also been in India—in the North of India. I have inquired from many district officers, and I can find no evidence that India as a whole is the better for the railways. The natives lose the profit of many trades which they used to have. Mr. Kimber may refer to Sir John Strachey's book and to Sir Evelyn Baring's statements, and so forth, and I cannot deny that they say things are very prosperous; but if Mr. Kimber will only try and get hold of a few district officers in various parts of India and talk to them, and ask them whether they think the peasantry are so very much more prosperous now than they were thirty years ago, perhaps he will form a little different opinion as to the results of this enormously quickened export trade of India. I believe this quickening of the trade of India simply means that

instead of the old inland trade of India, the trade, I may say, of an enormous continent, instead of that we have now a trade between England and India, the profit on that trade going naturally into the pockets of those who are the carriers. Then there is something further which I should like to point out in connection with the last financial statement of Major Baring. In paragraph 167 he considers the prospects of the growing wheat trade of India, and points out that the produce of India per acre seems to be very small compared with that of other countries, and that we may hope for a very large increase of wheat. But Sir Evelyn Baring has forgotten to point out one thing, and that is, that he is only calculating one wheat crop, whereas we all know, at least those who have been in India know very well, that in India one field of the best land will certainly bear three crops in two years, perhaps two crops every year; and to compare the wheat crop of one given acre, say, with the wheat crop in England, is absurd; you ought to compare the two crops off that field. Therefore, I do not believe from the evidence I can get that the out-turn of wheat can be so enormously increased as Major Baring suggests. In fact, he says himself in paragraph 169 that any opinion on this subject can be little more than conjecture. He says *it is possible* that certain parts may be opened up and that there may be a greater wheat trade; but he does not seem to assert that at all with certainty. Yet, as I understand, everyone who professes to believe in increased profits for railways in India, proposes to gain these profits by an increased wheat trade. There is just one point more in conclusion that I should like to mention, and that is the point which Mr. Martin Wood has already insisted on—the enormous difference between India and America. India is a country of small farms, perhaps a man and his family have three or five or seven acres; whereas in America you have big farms, worked by machinery, of two hundred or three hundred acres, and the surplus over, after the one man and his wife and children and the labourer or two have been fed, is infinitesimal in India as compared with what it is in America, where a man with all his machinery and the help of a few labourers is able to work a large farm. Any argument drawn from America, where there are vast stretches of virgin soil and a sparse population—any argument drawn from a comparison of that country with India is utterly worthless.

Mr. J. DANVERS POWER: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—There is just one question I should like to ask of Mr. Kimber arising out of a sentence on page 3 of his speech. He says: "There are many native princes who would be delighted to join in a collective

“guarantee of interest on shares or debentures if they were not interfered with.” It seems to me that that is an important statement, and I should like to know what is Mr. Kimber’s foundation for it, because if such is the case, of course it puts rather a different colouring on some of the points arising out of this subject, and one would like really to know whether it is only a general statement or a particular one which can be substantiated.

Mr. KIMBER: My foundation for it is my own experience and negotiations which I am at this moment carrying on, myself and my friends, with the native princes themselves.

Captain MOLESWORTH: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—May I just say a few words? I have been very much pleased to hear the remarks which have fallen from the lecturer, Mr. Kimber, and especially those of the gentleman who spoke from the platform as to weeding out those who manage affairs in secret in this country. I do not think that we have yet grasped the great importance of the extension of railways in India. The last speaker said that you could not compare it at all with America. Of course you cannot. When we consider that America has only 52 million inhabitants and upwards of 100,000 miles of railway, whilst India with her 250 millions has only about 10,000 or 11,000 miles of railway, I think you cannot compare the two countries in that way. But it seems to me that inasmuch as India with all the disadvantages she has had shares the market for corn and wheat with Russia and America, and at times has the preference, if we had had railways in India to all the places from which we could produce, as that gentleman says, two crops in the year, we should be well able to compete in England with both America and Russia. The Indian people with their soil and their climate and their teeming population can produce wheat far cheaper than they can in America with all its machinery; none will dispute that; and if we had the means of sending what can be produced to the seaboard, and afterwards from the seaboard to this country and to the other countries of Europe, I think India would be far more prosperous than it is at the present time. A gentleman opposite remarked that India has stood still. Why has it stood still? Because the rest of the world has gone ahead and India has not gone ahead. The lecturer alluded to my brother who is the Director-General of Railways in India. I think it would do my brother a great deal of good if he had a little of the American element behind him. That is my opinion. I think that if he had only pushed on

railways more than he has done it would have been better for the country. I am quite certain that almost every railway which has been projected in India has been placed under his eyes for him to report upon. I know him very well as a brother, and I think if he had been a little more American it would have been far better for India. Another point I think is this. Mr. Connell speaks of iron-masters and investors and so on getting the advantage; but what is it that we want? What we want is as the British nation to give to India all the advantage we can, and to get all the advantage we can from the Indian empire. We do not want to be paying high duties for sending our goods to India; we want to send them free to India, and we want to get her corn back in return for the goods we send. It is not a matter of advantage to her, to a particular investor in iron, or to a producer of corn in India. It is the benefit it will do in bringing England and our Indian empire in closer union. Let them be customers to us and we be customers to them. For that reason I think we ought to improve the highways between this country and the Asiatic waters, and I trust that, as we passed a resolution the other day that there should be no monopolies, and that everybody should be free to have canals, either the Suez or the Jordan Canal, so everybody may be at liberty to construct railways or anything else that will bring cheap, rapid, and safe communication between this country and India, and that we ought to foster in every possible way. I will just make one remark with regard to the $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet gauge and the 2 feet gauge railways. I think it is a great mistake that in India there should be put down these light railways. I think the gauge in India should be the same everywhere, and if the Indian Government does wisely it will put down nothing less than 56 steel rails, and put them down so that they shall be substantial and shall not require constant repairs. I think the break of gauge of these small rails, although they may be cheap in the first instance, will be a great mistake in the end. With regard to guarantees, I say that if contractors will guarantee to make railways for £5000 a mile into districts approved by the Government of India or by the people requiring them, the Government would do well to guarantee them $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon those railways.

Mr. A. K. CONNELL: May I just make one explanation on an important point. When I said there was a double crop raised on the best lands in India, I must not be supposed to have said that you can grow two crops of wheat the same year off the same land. Wheat is a cold weather crop altogether: you cannot grow it in hot weather.

Captain MOLESWORTH: But you can grow a crop that would sell in England, whether wheat or not; if it comes to this country it is a paying crop. If you can grow two or three crops, you can grow more there than in England.

The CHAIRMAN: I certainly misunderstood Mr. Connell too. Wheat cannot be grown two crops in the year. You can grow two crops in a year off any land: that is to say, the dry crop in the monsoon weather, and the irrigated crop in cold weather; but you cannot have two crops of wheat in one year.

Mr. FUNG YEE: We have in North China two crops of wheat.

The CHAIRMAN: We cannot get them in India.

Mr. EDMUND KIMBER: Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, —Our friend, Mr. Martin Wood, deprecated the construction of a line from Madras to Calcutta, because it was a coast line; but in this country we have coast lines which pay very well; and over in India we have one coast line already. What I say is, that on the east coast of India there is no line of railway answering to the Bombay and Baroda line on the west. Now the Bombay and Baroda line is substantially the west coast line. What does that pay? Here is Mr. Danvers's own Report. He says, "The Bombay and Baroda line pays $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent."

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD: Since it left the coast. It is the up-country part that pays.

Mr. EDMUND KIMBER: I do not see how a railway when it is once made can move. (Laughter.)

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD: But it may be extended.

Mr. KIMBER: I know it has been extended into the north country; but Mr. Martin Wood forgets this, that its extension in the north country is an extension nearer the coast in some places than the original part was.

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD: Oh, no!

Mr. KIMBER: I have got a map of it here, and certainly the

extension marked on this map goes nearer the coast in some places than its original projection. At any rate, it pays $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. I don't care whether you call it a coast line or not; if you had a line on the east coast answering to that of the Bombay and Baroda on the west, the chances are it would pay just as well. Certainly you have much larger towns on the east coast than you have on the west. I think that sufficiently disposes of the argument of Mr. Martin Wood. Mr. Maclean told us this: that he altogether disagreed with my assertion that "so utterly disgusted have many men become, that they believe the country would prosper better even under Russian rule." That is not what I say myself; it is what I have unfortunately heard men say, gentlemen who have returned from India, of just as great experience as Mr. Maclean. I have been very sorry to hear it. Two gentlemen who have returned within the last six months from India, have used language almost identically to the same effect, although they are not known to one another, and they lived in different parts of the country. It is deeply to be deplored, but such is the case.

Mr. J. M. MACLEAN: That may have been political feeling—nothing to do with railways or commercial affairs. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. KIMBER: It was partly political and partly commercial. Both those gentlemen were engaged in the construction of railways, one in the north of India and the other in the south. Now with regard to the policy which Mr. Maclean says is now being pursued, which is in fact (and as he himself admitted) no policy. That is, to do nothing at present. I presume we may call that no policy. I do not think, when such a policy as that is propounded before the House of Commons or any other assembly of Englishmen, that it will meet with general acceptance. Our friend Mr. Connell referred me to page 49 of Col. Stanton's Report. Now I may tell Mr. Connell that I have had an opportunity of reading not only this report, but also his own elaborate work on the same subject, and I must confess that *prima facie* the figures are somewhat startling; but if Mr. Connell means by his argument to say that railways, because of these figures, are detrimental to the country, I will show him in a few words that, according to his own showing, figures can be made to prove anything. I am now on the same page from which Mr. Connell quoted, and what do we find on this same page? "In 1859" (that is twenty-four years ago) "the capital expended was 19 millions; the loss to the State in that year was £600,000. In 1883" (this year) "the capital expended

“was 70 millions; the loss to the State was only £246,000.” So that in twenty-five years, although the capital expended has more than trebled, the loss to the State has decreased by two-thirds.

Mr. A. K. CONNELL: You have not taken into consideration at all the loss by exchange.

Mr. KIMBER: I am coming to that point. I think at any rate this is demonstrated, that although the country has gone on at this rapid rate increasing the capital, the loss to the country has been very much less. Now supposing that rate of increase in the expenditure of capital goes on in the next twenty-five years, do you suppose that the same rate of decrease will not go on in the same way—the decrease in the loss to the State? Is not it manifest that according to the recent reports of Mr. Juland Danvers and Col. Stanton we have no less a gain to the State now, above and beyond the guaranteed interest paid, than half-a-million a year? I think that this is a substantial gain. Now compare that with what has been done in this and other countries. In France there have been guarantees; in Germany there have been guarantees; in Russia there have been guarantees and tremendous subsidies. In all the countries of the world the State has agreed to patronize the railways to a much larger extent than we patronize the railways in India. I quite agree with Mr. Connell that Free Trade is a good thing; but very often in public works, in the construction of works of great public interest, you cannot get them done without the fostering care of the Government. And the Government admit it; the Governments of Europe admit it; the Government of the United States admit it, but in a different way. We are told that in the United States they have a different way of granting concessions. You can get a charter passed over in the United States for the construction of a railway almost as easily as you can promote a public company here in the City—by simply getting seven gentlemen to sign the articles of association and to register them at Somerset House. But mark the difference between America and India and England. If the State in this country has, according to Mr. Connell, lost 25 millions, or 37 millions including the loss by exchange, what, I should like to know, is that, in comparison with the loss voluntarily undergone by Englishmen themselves in this country in the construction of their railways? What is it in comparison with the loss voluntarily undergone by the American people in the construction of their railroads? What does that mean? It means this: that by the common consent

of mankind in England and America, they have voluntarily undergone taxation to such an extent that their loss together is certainly more than ten times the loss it is to the taxpayers in India. Therefore I cannot understand anyone with an idea of statesmanship in his head looking upon this as an awfully grievous thing for the 250 millions of inhabitants in India.

Mr. A. K. CONNELL: A conquered country! To which a bribe is offered to get rid of its enforced debt.

Mr. KIMBER: Because it is a conquered country, is that a reason why we should withhold from it the blessing of railways? Is it not rather a reason, on the other hand, that we should grant them the use of railways? Are we to treat a conquered country worse than we treat ourselves? Surely, if it be a conquered country, and if we hold the people in subjection, we ought to treat them with the same care that a trustee in this country is bound to treat those parties for whom he is trustee. But if that be not a general and sound view of the case, is not this a sound view of the case: that whereas it is a poor country and a conquered country, yet positively the whole of the British Empire gives to those poor people the inestimable advantage of having their railways constructed upon English credit and English guarantee.

Mr. J. M. MACLEAN: India gives it, not the British Empire.

Mr. KIMBER: India gives it, but how could the Indian Government get it unless it was supported by British rule, unless the Indian Government were good in its credit because it is a government by Englishmen? That is the reason that the English capitalist trusts to the credit of the Government of India. India is governed by England, and therefore, being governed by England, it obtains English credit and English capital. This complaint that the poor Indian ryots are overwhelmed with taxes has, I think, been sufficiently exploded by the eloquent and able addresses given both at public meetings and in *The Times* newspaper by Sir James Caird. So far from being overtaxed, he has demonstrated conclusively that India is one of the most lightly taxed countries in the world. Now, with regard to what has been said upon the subject of the other railways, I think the whole of the statistics will conclusively show that the whole policy of the country has been to encourage, as far as possible, the construction of railways, and all I can say is this: That if, by what Mr. Maclean has described

as a difference in the minds of men in the Council at Westminster, we are brought now to a dead stop, it is a lamentable thing for that country, and it is a lamentable thing for this. The Indians themselves, as I have said in my paper, ask for the railways. The native princes are willing to join in a collective guarantee, and it is a great pity that by this routine and red tape stumbling-blocks are placed between the capitalists, and constructors, and engineers, in this country and the natives of India who so much require their help. I am very glad indeed to find that opinions have been elicited here to-day—opinions which I consider are founded on fallacy—and I trust the meeting to-day has been the cause of their explosion.

MR. A. K. CONNELL: You have said nothing about “loss by exchange.”

MR. KIMBER: We have not time to discuss further that question. It would need a special occasion, but many people are of opinion that there is no “loss by exchange”—that is no real or substantial loss to India.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have nothing to add to the interesting discussion we have just had except to ask you to vote the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Kimber for the paper he has given us.

MR. C. W. ARATHOON seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

MR. KIMBER briefly replied, and moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

This was seconded by Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD and carried unanimously.

The Memorial sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer re the gold and silver plate duties and the laws of hall-marking, and the reply thereto are subjoined.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HUGH CHILDERS, M.P.,
HER MAJESTY'S CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER,

FROM THE COUNCIL OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

SIR,

The attention of this Association has been directed to the speech of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, upon the occasion of the closing ceremonial of the Fisheries Exhibition, in which his Royal Highness gave public notice of his intention to hold an Exhibition, in 1886, of the Art Industries of Her Majesty's Indian and Colonial possessions.

In making this statement, his Royal Highness is reported as having said—"I hope especially for the support of our fellow-subjects "the people of India, in order that an important section of that "Exhibition may be truly representative of the Industrial Arts of that "Empire."

The Council of this Association therefore being sincerely desirous of co-operating with his Royal Highness in order to ensure the success of the proposed Exhibition, would venture to urge on the consideration of Her Majesty's Government the fact that the Industrial Arts of India are much dependent upon the precious metals, not only in the case of articles wholly composed of gold or silver, but more especially in the case of numerous articles the ornamentation of which depends upon those metals; and at the same time again to represent the urgency of the native demand that Indian manufacturers may be placed upon perfectly Free Trade terms in their relations with the Mother Country—that the duties upon gold and silver may be abolished, as recommended by the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1878-9, and that such a reform of the laws relating to hall-marking may be accomplished as may admit of their wares being exposed for sale without those "compulsory" provisions which now act as prohibitions to trade as between the two countries.

The Council, in conclusion, would presume to express an earnest hope that, seeing that no proper reform of the hall-marking can be accomplished so long as the duties prevail, Her Majesty's Government may be pleased to recommend their abolition in April next.

FOR THE COUNCIL OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

ORFEUR CAVENAGH, *Chairman.*

26, CHARING CROSS, S.W.

18th December, 1883.

The Reply.

TREASURY CHAMBERS, WHITEHALL, S.W.,

21st December, 1883.

SIR,

I am directed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to acknowledge the receipt of the Memorial from the East India Association of the 18th instant, in which the Council urge the abolition of the duties upon gold and silver plate and a reform of the hall-marking laws.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

G. GLEADOWE.

THE CHAIRMAN EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

The following is the Memorial sent to the Secretary of State for India on Railways and other Public Works :—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY,
HER MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

MY LORD,

The East India Association has had frequently brought before it the great importance of the construction of Public Works, and more particularly of Railways, in India, and has recently been forcibly reminded that, in his last financial statement to the Indian Council at Calcutta, Sir Evelyn Baring observed :—"We have now had two 'years' experience of the private enterprise policy. During that 'time a certain number of facts have been accumulated which we 'think are sufficient to enable us to lay down a definite policy, at all 'events for the immediate future, say for five years. We have there-'fore very recently addressed the Secretary of State upon the subject, 'but I am not as yet in a position to state what the final decision of 'the Government will be. Though much has been done in the past it 'is clear very much still remains to do before the whole of India is 'adequately served by railways; but it may be hoped that by the 'means of the railway policy recently recommended to the Secretary 'of State the progress in the future may be more rapid than in the 'past."

2. Notwithstanding this authoritative expression of opinion, it is to be regretted that during the last twelve months there has been a serious

decline in the construction of railways ; the increased number of miles completed being only 373 as compared with 726 in the previous year, and 838 in 1880-81 ; whilst the Council have been led to believe that it has been resolved to suspend all further operations and to refuse to entertain new proposals pending the appointment of a Committee of the House of Commons to consider the whole question. Your Memorialists would therefore respectfully submit that the adoption of this course of procedure would be tantamount to more than a whole year's arrest of the material progress of India, so far as that progress is dependent upon the execution of productive Public Works ; in the event, however, of their having been misinformed in this respect, they would venture to represent that it is of urgent importance to the public in England, and still more to the interests of India, that the exact policy intended to be pursued should be clearly enunciated in some duly authorized statement.

3. Abundant information is already available as to the different methods of railway exploitation to enable the Government of India to proceed without making any serious mistake or committing itself to unwise or injudicious concessions, whilst any further delay is greatly to be deprecated as being most detrimental to the welfare of India.

4. In support of these views, your Memorialists would solicit your Lordship's attention to two documents recently placed before the Government of India, and of which transcripts have doubtless been forwarded for your Lordship's consideration. The one is in the form of a resolution adopted by the Madras Chamber of Commerce, in which it is urged that the sums levied from current revenue under the heads of Famine Insurance and ordinary Public Works, are very inadequate to the growing wants of India, and further that such sums should be applied as interest and sinking fund in order to provide loans for carrying out productive and protective Public Works raised from the cheap capital of Europe, a policy that has the sanction of the best Statesmen on the Continent, and has been approved in principle by able Indian administrators, notably by Lord Cranborne, when Secretary of State, and Earl Mayo, when Viceroy and Governor-General ; the other is a letter addressed to the Viceroy by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, in which the arguments set forth by the Madras Chamber are fully endorsed, and it is further urged that the two and a half millions annually assigned for the construction of State Railways should be utilized towards raising an equivalent capital to be available for the purpose of facilitating the extensions long contemplated by the existing railway companies.

5. Your Memorialists, whilst urging the obvious and urgent claims for railway extension, desire also to support the demand for steady and general prosecution of all productive Public Works, on the principles carefully formulated by successive Indian administrations. Nature has provided abundance of water, but that blessing requires the well-directed and strenuous efforts of the State to apply it for the benefit of the people and for their preservation in times of drought. The recent desolating famines impress this lesson most cogently on the attention of all responsible for the welfare of India. If the rainfall be conserved and the monsoon floods be regulated, the food supply of the people will be secured, and millions of money hitherto fruitlessly spent in the inadequate relief of famine will for the future be saved. Hence it is conclusive that not only should there be no check placed on works already directed towards that great end, but that additional efforts should be made to avert the reproach of millions perishing from droughts which might be rendered comparatively harmless by means of reservoirs and irrigation canals. In proof of this assertion your Lordship may be reminded that during the terrible Madras famine of 1877-8, there were three districts, which, though exposed to the same climatic calamity that desolated the greater portion of Southern India, enjoyed entire immunity from its effects because of the irrigation canals with which they were intersected. These are the districts of Godavery, Kistnah, and Tanjore, in which nearly two million acres are watered, and were thereby enabled to produce over one million tons of food grain, sufficient to maintain five millions of people for a year, much of which grain was exported for the relief of the adjacent famine-stricken districts. In another district, Kurnal, though the irrigation works were far from being finished, over 37,000 tons of grain, with fodder to save the cattle, was produced, while all around the cattle perished and the people themselves died by tens of thousands. In like manner, during the Behár drought of 1874, as mentioned by the late Mr. T. W. Thornton, then Public Works Secretary at the India Office, the Soane Canal, though not half made, "enabled luxuriant harvests, valued at £500,000, to come to "maturity over 159,000 acres, where otherwise every green leaf must "have been parched into powder."

6. Further, as bearing on the commercial aspect of the Public Works question, it may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that the greater facilities which INLAND NAVIGATION would give for the export of various bulky products, such as wheat, seeds, and cotton, which the country could, by the aid of irrigation, so bountifully produce, can alone afford a reasonable prospect of enabling India to enter, with

any hope of success, into the field of competition with America for the supply of those staple commodities.

7. It is only reasonable to suppose that the House of Commons, far from objecting to any guarantee, would, on the contrary, respond to the public opinion already expressed in every quarter both in India and England, that the extension of Public Works should be expedited by the issue of a guarantee or loan of public money made on similar principles to those adopted by the Public Works Loan Commissioners of the United Kingdom. Your Memorialists would consequently earnestly pray that advantage may be taken of the present opportunity while iron is cheap, labour plentiful and European capital abundant, to stimulate the initiation of suitable Engineering and Industrial schemes for developing the resources and advancing the prosperity of our Indian Empire.

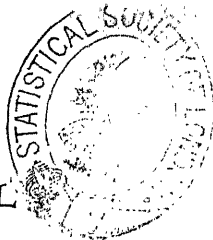
I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant, ,

ORFEUR CAVENAGH, *Chairman.*

On behalf of the Council of the East India Association.

Dated 16th January, 1884.



JOURNAL

OF THE

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,

Instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

ENGLISH DUTIES ON GOLD AND SILVER PLATE : THEIR SPECIAL INJUSTICE AS AFFECTING THE INDIAN SILVER-CRAFTSMAN.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,
BY C. MCKAY SMITH, ESQ.,
ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1884.

GENERAL SIR ORFEUR CAVENAGH, K.C.S.I.,
IN THE CHAIR.

A MEETING of the members and friends of the East India Association was held on Thursday afternoon, February 28th, 1884, in the Council Room, Exeter Hall, for the purpose of considering a paper by Mr. C. McKay Smith, entitled "The English Duties on Gold and Silver Plate: their Special Injustice as affecting the Indian Silver-craftsman."

GENERAL SIR ORFEUR CAVENAGH, K.C.S.I., occupied the chair, and amongst those present were the following:—General Sir George Balfour, K.C.B., M.P.; Major-General G. Burn; Colonel R. M. MacDonald; Captain E. A. Campbell; Mr. Roper Lethbridge, C.I.E.; Dr. G. W. Leitner; Surgeon-General R. H. Perkins; Rev. James Long; Rev. J. Crompton Sowerbutts; Mr. C. W. Arathoon; Mr. Birch; Mr. Henry Bolton; Mr. W. Bowden; Mr. Brierly; Mr. Thomas H. Brinton; Mr. R. F. Chisholm; Mr. Hyde Clarke; Mr. H. H. Hyde Clarke; Mr. A. K. Connell; Mr. W. T. A. Cosby; Mr. P. A. De Rozario; Mr. Arthur Etheridge; Mr. R. Favell; Mr. Henry W. Fincham; Mr. Robert Foskett; Mr. Edward A. Goodall; Mr. Thomas Hamilton; Mr. R. M. Holborn; Mr. Robert Heneyman, jun. (Edinburgh); Mr. W. Hooper; Mr. Johnston; Mr. Edmund G. Johnson; Mr. B. G. King; Mr. T. H. Kneebone; Mr. J. P. Lake;

Mr. Henry Liggins; Mr. W. McGuffin; Mr. Henry Murray; Mr. G. M. Norgate; Mr. Robert G. Orr (Madras); Mr. C. B. Pare; Mr. J. A. Parker (Calcutta); Mr. G. F. Peacocke; Mr. H. Stewart Reid; Mr. Donald Reynolds; Mr. William Riach; Mr. R. H. Secker; Mr. Frederick Sibray (Sheffield); Mr. James Slater; Mr. R. B. Swinton (Madras); Mr. Alfred Tilling; Mr. Edward J. Watherston; Mr. W. Carlton Wood; Mr. W. Martin Wood; Mr. W. Youngman; Mr. W. Hamilton Burn (Secretary).

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the author of the paper, said : Ladies and Gentlemen,—Although in comparison with several subjects which have been discussed under the auspices of the East India Association the question which will be brought to your notice this afternoon may appear somewhat unimportant, yet I can assure you that it does deserve your earnest consideration, for it is a question of removing what is felt to be an injustice and a hardship by a very industrious class of our Indian population. However much we may approve of Free Trade in the abstract, I think in the concrete most of us would admit that there ought to be some measure of reciprocity. Now, whether rightly or wrongly, whether in the interests of the people themselves or with a view to extending the sale of our cotton goods, I am not prepared to express any opinion—I merely point out the fact, that we have taken advantage of our position as rulers of India to compel the local Government to adopt our principles of Free Trade, but we have not reciprocated so far as to withdraw the very heavy duties that are now imposed upon gold and silver articles imported from that country. The gold and silversmiths of India have long enjoyed a well-merited reputation. None can have visited any of the great cities such as Dacca or Benares or Delhi, where their trade flourishes, without having been struck with the beauty of the workmanship and often with the elegance of design of the ornaments offered for sale. As regards their delicacy of manipulation, I think I may safely say that our Indian craftsmen cannot be surpassed by those of any other country in the world. Thus they do feel hurt, and they protest against the product of their labours being, by the imposition of unfair taxation, precluded from entering the field of competition on equal terms with those of their fellow-subjects in this country. All that they desire is to obtain an opportunity, such perhaps as may be afforded by the forthcoming Exhibition, for exhibiting their wares, to ensure their due appreciation. They simply ask for a fair field and no favour; and that it is for which Mr. McKay Smith is now about to plead.

Mr. C. McKAY SMITH then read the following paper :—

In October last I read a paper on "The Taxation of Gold and Silver Plate" before the Social Science Congress, at Huddersfield, in which I advocated its total repeal. I was not then aware of the strong interest evinced in the question from the point of view of the Indian silver-craftsman. But the Parliamentary Paper (No. 347) published last month, shows that the subject has been thoroughly mastered by the representative members of the trade in the various Presidencies; that they have exhibited their competency to expose in befitting terms the folly as well as the injustice of the existing system; and that those more directly responsible for the administration of our great Indian dependency, both in Calcutta and London, are disposed to give them active, generous and intelligent support.

These taxes, and more especially as regards their effect on the silversmith's craft, are inconsistent with views of political economy the soundness of which in this country, at all events, has long since ceased to be contested. Indeed the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, in the correspondence now published, make no effort to contest them, but at the same time, for reasons incomprehensible to the lay mind, they decline to give practical effect to their tacit admission. It is a slow and laborious process working on them through the influence of outside opinion. It is a process in the intelligent operation of which I have personally no longer any belief, but as some gentlemen in every way entitled to my respect have paid me the compliment of representing to me that these lines may serve a useful purpose in connection with their most legitimate agitation on behalf of the repeal of the duties on plate, I have consented to prepare them. In extracting from a little work already issued by me, entitled "The Taxation of Gold and Silver Plate," I run no risk of wearying you so far as mere repetition can have that effect. Fifteen copies of it have been sold, of which probably about three have been read. So that, divided among the four million people of this city, the proportion of that literary repast which may have already percolated to this audience would be represented by a fraction intelligible only to the homœopathist.

The tax on gold and silver plate stands out as the one relic left to us of protective legislation; the solitary remnant of that mass of foolishness which it has been the just pride of our free institutions to have obliterated from the statute law of the country during the last half century. It is in reality a double tax. One portion of it contributes to the public revenue, and amounts to eighteenpence per ounce upon finished silver plate; another portion of it is paid



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to Goldsmiths' Hall in London, and to authorized assay offices established in some provincial towns, as an equivalent for assaying and Hall-marking, and runs (as far as I can gather) from about a penny to twopence per ounce. I claim to term this latter a tax equally with the larger payment, inasmuch as it is levied under the authority of an Act of Parliament, and there is no choice but to submit to it.

The object of my paper is to contend that every consideration of an enlightened public policy demonstrates the necessity of abolishing this double tax.

The theory of government which prevailed in our earlier history was one in virtue of which it was an obligation upon the ruler to interfere with every petty detail of trade. In the sixteenth century, for example, it was the province of trade guilds in England, acting under plenary sanction, "to see that no person undertook to supply articles which he had not been educated to manufacture; to determine the prices at which such articles might justly be sold; above all, to take care that the common people really bought at shops and stalls what they supposed themselves to be buying; that cloth put up for sale was true cloth, of true texture and full weight; that leather was sound and well tanned, wine pure, measures honest, &c." Much may perhaps be said in favour of this paternal view of the functions of government. Reinstate them if you like, but at all events be consistent. If I am still in my political infancy, why leave me exposed to the wiles of those who seek to beguile me with shoddy for trousers, or with sherry from the luxuriant vineries of Hamburg? If, on the other hand, I am presumed to have reached to years of discretion, why trouble yourselves in the matter of my spoons and forks? Why not let me make my own bargain for them in my own way as you permit me to do in everything else?

These taxes operate as a hindrance to the prosecution of an important trade, and to the progress of the country in the cultivation of a refined and beautiful art. They are, moreover, the direct cause of the expatriation of many of our most skilled artisans to a rival manufacturing country where the trade can be followed under more favourable conditions than here, and of avoidable misery and want among many of those who remain. I have characterized them as a remnant of protective legislation. They have their root in that tyrannical disposition of gratuitous interference with the smaller details of daily life so congenial to the protective spirit. But it will be asked, how do I justify my allegation in view of the fact that the duty is equally levied on the home made and on the imported product. I answer that this equality

is more or less of a delusion. An English silversmith, by sending his goods to Goldsmiths' Hall for assay in a nominally unfinished state, obtains a rebate of duty amounting to 3*d* per oz. The foreigner must either dispense with this advantage and pay the full tale of 1*s* 6*d* per oz. on the finished product, or in the alternative event establish a workshop in London with some of his best workmen in it to finish the goods after they are returned to him. And not only so. Many goods, and those of the highest class, can only be sent in for Hall-marking in a finished state at the cost of irreparable injury. I therefore claim the existing law as essentially a protective one to the home trade on goods which are subject to both duty and Hall-marking. The fact corresponds to the theory. The protective effect to the home manufacturer, so far as regards goods for English use, is practically complete.

The home demand for silver plate was represented in 1855 by an aggregate of 837,920 oz. on which duty was paid. It gradually receded during a period in which the wealth of the country was indefinitely multiplied until in 1880 it fell to 544,127 oz., rising again in 1883 to 644,832 oz. The export demand, as ascertained by payment of drawback, stood at 102,280 oz. in 1855. It fell off to 83,345 oz. in 1878, and has recovered to 104,672 oz. in 1883. It is no doubt the fact that the general use of electro-plated goods has partially checked the expansion of the trade in genuine plate, but it is contended that were the market an unfettered one, the immensely enhanced consuming power, both of the mother country and her colonies, would have much more than compensated any loss of market caused by the demand for the cheaper substitute.

Theoretically, of course, the return of the duty under the term "drawback" on export is supposed to compensate the effect of its payment in the first instance. But this plausible kind of comfort is in practice neutralized by the incidents of the operation. Say that perhaps a Birmingham or Sheffield silversmith has on hand a foreign or colonial order for some fine piece of composite work in which silver is the chief material, but in which glass, porcelain, ebony, or ivory constitute a part. It is completed, beautifully packed, and sent to the docks for shipment—and then what happens? In London, it most probably would go to the Royal Albert Dock, about ten miles down the river. The Customs officer would there open the whole thing out again, and as nothing but the naked silver can be placed in the scales to be weighed for drawback, every bit of separate material would have to be unscrewed and detached from it so as to permit this to be done. Anyone can estimate the contrast between the original packing and the repacking by dock workmen, in the course of which

not improbably the clear burnished surface which left the midland town may now and again receive the fine artistic impress of a perspiring thumb. In a paper presented to the Indian Government in the course of last year by the Calcutta trades' association, an instance is given in which a Calcutta firm importing some highly finished piece of silver-work from London preferred to sacrifice a drawback of £20 rather than have it opened out and taken to pieces at the docks, and this is an occurrence which I believe to be by no means unfrequent. Other things being equal, is it supposable that an export buyer, having an alternative market to fall back upon where he would be rid of these irritating complications, would be likely to submit to this process a second time?

Select Parliamentary Committees have sat on this question—sat on it, I may say, in every sense of the term—at intervals since 1856 inclusive. The evidence taken by that which met in 1878-79 may be fairly said to have been exhaustive. The disappointing feature in connection with it is that it exhibits the leading English silversmiths, with some few eminent exceptions, as vehement upon the side of upholding the restrictions upon the trade against which it is the purpose of this paper to protest, and, as might be expected, the evidence given on behalf of Goldsmiths' Hall was in the same vein. There is no profit gained by the authorities of Goldsmiths' Hall from the charge made for assaying and hall-marking, as the fees do no more than cover the necessary expenses, but this circumstance does not seem to lessen the tenacity with which they cling to their ancient privilege. It would aid the object which this paper has in view, and demonstrate the pernicious effects of the existing Acts, if I may be permitted to select one or two extracts from the evidence referred to, which tell their own tale and more fully illustrate my case:—

Mr. Watherston (17th June, 1878, No. 48):—"The trouble, inconvenience, and delay (in getting goods Hall-marked) are *absolutely taxation*. (No. 50.) In the case of artistic plate, of which I could show designs, especially of foreign make, it would be seriously injured by our present method of Hall-marking."

Mr. (now Sir Thomas) Farrer, Permanent Secretary of the Board of Trade (24th March, 1879, No. 225):—"Then as to compulsory Hall-marking, I believe this also to be injurious and protective. In the first place it prevents the use of mixed metals in manufacture. For instance, it is in evidence before this Committee that you cannot have a watch Hall-marked with a metal dome to it; you cannot have it of gold outside with a dome of brass, or any other metal inside; you cannot have a silver teapot with a base metal bottom to it; you cannot have a silver claret-jug with a handle of a different metal; all that seems to be a very serious interference with the freedom of manufacture.

May one here ask, where would be the trade of England at this day if a similar set of childish obstacles rested in the path of the other products of her industry?

I select an extract from the same gentleman's evidence as bearing more on the artistic aspect of the question, and which is too good to be permanently entombed in a Blue Book (24th March, 1879, No. 203):—

“There are certain manufacturers, Messrs. Elkington for instance, who have made great advances in late years, but I very much doubt, comparing the progress in this country with that in foreign countries, whether our manufacture has not been actually retrograding. I do not pretend to be a judge of artistic excellence, but I think it is scarcely possible to look at the great variety of articles which ought to have a very high artistic excellence which are manufactured in this country, such as race cups, prize cups at agricultural shows and shows of all kinds, without seeing what monotony there is, and how dull they are, and how little of invention and beauty there is in them.”

That Sir Thomas Farrer has not overstated the case is open to be judged of by any one familiar with the mean and poverty-stricken designs to be seen in the shop windows, not excepting those of many of the leading firms in the trade.

I could fill pages with evidence of equal agency, and it is with serious regret that space forbids me to give my paper the advantage of selections from that of Mr. Robert Giffen, also an able servant of the state, who has grasped the subject with a masterly comprehension of the principles involved in it. I will offer one more extract, and it will be taken from the evidence of Mr. Streeter, of Bond Street, a gentleman not likely to be unduly prejudiced against his English fellow-craftsmen (7th April, 1879, No. 1008):—

“At the present moment the Americans have got all our best men over there. They come here and get all our best English modellers; the house of Messrs. Tiffany and other manufacturers in America have done so.”

(1009.) In reply to the question, “*And they give them much better wages, I presume?*”

“Yes, much more than we can afford, and in America they also appreciate the art more. Their silver is certainly more artistic than ours.”

(1011.) In reply to the question, “*Would the English manufacturers, do you think, have anything to fear in competition with other nations if this Hall-mark and the duty were both done away with?*”

“I think not; it would merely wake them up.”

The Select Committee before which the above and much other evidence was taken, reported in favour of the abolition of the duty,

but held firmly to the system of compulsory assay and Hall-marking. The prevailing "note" of this part of the Report may be gathered from one suggestive sentence in it: let us give it large—

"NOR SHOULD THE ANTIQUARIAN ASPECT OF THE QUESTION BE
"ALTOGETHER DISREGARDED."

Oh, dear, no! I especially commend this "aspect of the question" to the unemployed workmen of the silver-craft, in the hope that it will sustain and comfort them, and at the same time allay any feeling of exasperation on their part against a system under which it may be sometimes a little difficult for them to "live and thrive."

The effect of the existing restrictive laws upon the English workman is in truth a paralyzing one. In other trades, and in dull times, the masters employ their own capital and the labour of their men in working to stock; but the master-silversmiths—and who can blame them?—work little or nothing to stock with at all events the possibility before them of these taxes being abolished. A necessary consequence of the existing system is that the operative silver-worker is engaged in a spasmodic and intermittent fashion fatal to that fine touch of supreme excellence which is alone the fruit of steady and habitual employment. Let us suppose the gunsmiths, glass cutters, cotton spinners, woollen weavers, and twenty other leading industries, to be worked under like conditions: how long would these trades hold together, or before the grass began to grow in the streets of our great manufacturing towns?

Brave words—words only—have been uttered against abuses, actual or alleged, of which the City Livery Companies are supposed to be the corporate embodiment. Into any larger question affecting them or their concerns this is not the place to enter. But it seems almost a miracle in the way of incongruity that the Goldsmiths' Company should appear as the willing instrument of the law in preying upon the vitals of an apparently doomed industry, the true interests of which one would think it their highest privilege to conserve and defend. The belief is that but for the great, although undemonstrative influence of this powerful guild, both duty and Hall-marking would long ago, in nautical parlance, have "gone by the board."

That with some notable exceptions, the masters and dealers were, as judged by their evidence, on the side of a rigid adherence to the existing policy of restriction is, as I have already remarked, perhaps disappointing, but it is after all only the old story repeated. Each trade, as its turn came for emancipation, stood, as we all know,

hesitating and shivering on the brink of that cold water bath of freedom into which—not to their subsequent sorrow—they had perforce to plunge. All were straightway to be ruined. The abolition of the Navigation laws was to complete the business by the annihilation of our shipping—almost a superfluous task when there were to have been no goods to carry. I hope to live long enough to enable me to congratulate English silversmiths upon being ruined in precisely the same degree as most of these others. I only hope they will not wait for the completed result to present me with that silver tea-service which I am trying to earn at their hands as soon as they can make me one without the necessity of a Hall-mark or duty-punch being stamped upon it. From the point of view of an intelligent regard for their own welfare the master-silversmiths would find that in enlisting themselves on the side of the removal of the restrictions upon their trade there would be no conflict between their interests as craftsmen and as citizens; but if they cannot be made to see this, they must simply be asked, like their predecessors in affliction, to stand aside and not any longer block the way.

I have not touched upon the duty of 17s per oz. on gold plate. For obvious reasons the considerations involved in it are of much narrower importance than those which arise in connection with the duty on silver. If the silver duties are abolished, the other must necessarily follow. But if an instructive comment were needed upon the contention that Goldsmiths' Hall is our last refuge against the debasement of our plate, it may be found in the fact that they will stamp the Hall-mark as indeed the law requires them, upon gold goods of as low a quality as 9 *carats*—standard being represented by 22. In other words, they will accord the high privilege of this honourable and ancient device to gold plate of which about 13 parts out of 22 may consist of copper or other baser metal. To ordinary minds it would almost seem as if we had here reached that point in the argument known as the "reduction to the absurd."

There are supremely important aspects of this question, apart from the one which I have had more immediately in view. Silver is the currency of our Indian Empire, and the increasing supply of raw silver of late years has had the serious effect of gradually depreciating that currency. This is a kind of thing which has a strong tendency towards gradual self-rectification if left to nature, but what our governing people do is to artificially check this healthy corrective influence by placing restrictions upon that increased application of silver to trade uses which it is believed would largely contribute to the desired effect. Again, the correspondence now published by order of Parlia-

ment makes it clear that the obstacles placed by legislation in the way of imports to this country of the characteristic and often beautiful silver goods of the Indian craftsman are keenly felt in India, and that their removal would be hailed there as a most welcome boon. The capacity of the Indian silver-worker is not to be rightly judged by the flimsy "fop-tackle" with which most of us are familiar, and which the law permits to come in duty-free. It will be seen what he can do when at his best as soon as there is a free market open to him for all that he can produce.

The principles on which the repeal of these duties is demanded are of universal application unless the whole scheme of our economic legislation of the last thirty years is to be regarded as an admitted mistake; and to a certain extent the statement of the case is impoverished by laying too much stress on the argument from the Indian standpoint. Where proposed alterations in the law, dictated by sentiment only, come into conflict with legitimate deductions from accepted economic truths, it would be but a futile kindness to allow them to prevail. But in this application from our Indian fellow-subjects to be admitted to the freedom of our market for one of their characteristic products, they merely ask us to vindicate our own principles; and in refusing it the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury show an incompetency to measure the effect of a graceful concession to a subject people, which seems completely deplorable to any one competent to estimate the value of sympathy as a moral force in the government of such a dependency as that of India. There is a becoming congruity in all things which even "my lords" are not privileged to violate with impunity. Whether they are the originators of their attitude of obstruction, or whether they merely permit themselves to be the mouthpiece of the Government in this matter, is a distinction which I have no means of estimating, but be it the one or the other, there is only one phrase possible to think of in connection with a set of persons capable of informing the Secretary of State for India, under the hand of Mr. Leonard Courtney, in March, 1883, that "the financial equilibrium of the Budget must be a primary consideration with the Imperial Government" before they can repeal this paltry yet most mischievous tax; and of submitting a month or two later a scheme to Parliament and the country for the reduction of the National Debt by about £100,000,000 almost within the current century.

Several years ago the Indian Government placed an inconsiderable import duty on English manufactured cotton goods. Most of us remember the outcry with which this was hailed by the manufacturing

interest at home, and the eagerness with which they beset the Imperial authorities to have it removed, mainly on the alleged plea that the tax was both in intention and effect one for the protection of the Indian manufacturer. The Government gave way and the tax was withdrawn. Not a word on this occasion as to any "primary consideration of the financial equilibrium of the Indian government," which had to get itself adjusted the best way it could. The correspondence is too long for quotation: suffice it to say that "my lords" reject the parallel sought to be established between the concession already made and that now asked for by the Indian people on grounds which the Secretary of State for India pronounces to be "inaccurate"—a term for which the unofficial equivalent would probably be something more terse and telling. "My lords" are content to go to lengths which many people would call obsequious when it is a question of bargaining with France or the United States for some concession in the supposed interests of Birmingham, Manchester, or Sheffield. India asks, and so far asks in vain, for some such small slice of consideration and justice as might be claimed by a younger brother.

It is of the greatest possible consequence to allow free play to any natural disposition on the part of our Indian fellow-subjects to multiply the range of their avocations, and to develop strata in their social scheme other than those directly dependent on the cultivation of the soil. I am no believer in promoting any such disposition by artificial devices. But here all that is asked is that obstructions which are our own creation may be removed, and that the stimulus of a free market may be given to the higher development of the silversmith's craft among a people very distinctively possessed of the artistic and creative instinct, and who inherit the art faculty as a matter of tradition and inheritance from a remote past.

In Calcutta there is now open a great International Exhibition. The wares of all the world are no doubt there, but it will surprise me to find that the English silversmiths exhibit very conspicuously. If they pay duty before their goods leave here and the things are afterwards sold in Calcutta, such payment is to them absolute waste. If they have shipped their goods under drawback they must have done so subject to all the dangers and irritations of the process at the docks to which I have already referred, and failing to find a market abroad, their goods on re-entry have to pay the usual duty. And if there were to be an exhibition of silver goods in England a like set of obstacles would operate to prevent Indian or foreign exhibits being sent here.

A chief difficulty in our case arises in truth from the fact that "my lords" do not seriously contest the position we take. There is some satisfaction in standing up to a man who says bluntly, "I am right and you are wrong." But what are you to do with a sort of boneless persons who say, "Oh! yes, you are quite in the right, and indeed we have long thought so, and in point of fact have always said so; but you see that in case the tax is done away with, 'my lords' would feel so shocked at the idea of these poor silver-smiths not getting back their duties already paid, that they can't abear to think of it. It is true what you tell us that within a very few years the duty on tea has been reduced to a mere fraction of what it used to be, and that the duty on sugar has been totally abolished, and you ask 'my lords' to try and recollect whether on these occasions any drawback was allowed the numberless trade holders of duty-paid stocks of these goods." "Well, n-n-n-o, perhaps not, but silver you perceive isn't tea or sugar—in fact, you know, silver is so different, so to speak; but really you know 'my lords' think you are exceedingly impertinent to come down on them in this way, and wish to know 'who are you.'" All of us who have reached middle life have witnessed the removal from the statute book of duties, both Customs and Excise, by the hundred; or it would probably be nearer the truth to say by the *thousand*. So far as my own memory serves I can recall but a single instance in which drawback was allowed of duties already paid—that of paper. In all others people were allowed to bear their loss as best they might, and I have no recollection that any of them sought to pose as martyrs on the strength of it. But no human ingenuity seems equal to the task of obtaining either from "my lords" or other responsible functionary of state, any explanation of the favourite official theory, that holders of duty-paid silver goods are a peculiar people, to be set apart on some serene height untouched by the vicissitudes which beset their fellow-men.

The Imperial Parliament is always very ready to empty itself when an Indian debate is before it. If independent members can persuade themselves that they owe something to India for past neglect, here is an opportunity for them to discharge their consciences. In this question of the taxation of silver plate there is involved an Indian grievance ready to their hand, the conditions of which are simple, compact and easy to be grasped. Let them make it clear to the Barnacle mind that the time for "my lords" to trifle over the subject in phrases of polite frigidity has gone by, and that the complete emancipation of the trade in plate is the thing that has to get itself accomplished.

Mr. ROPER LETHBRIDGE, C.I.E.: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think that the thanks of this Association are due—and very warm thanks—to Mr. McKay Smith for coming before us this afternoon and stating so clearly—and many of us I am sure will agree with him—the points in which these duties on silver plate, and especially the duties on silver plate that comes from India and is manufactured by India craftsmen, are greatly to be deprecated not only by us of the East India Association, but also by all those who are interested in the welfare of India, and, I venture to think, by all those who have at heart the good name of the British Government in its dealings with its subjects in India. There are some gentlemen here, clearly, who do not agree with us in this matter. I am sure we shall all be very glad to hear presently the arguments which they will lay before us in favour of what strikes me, and I think strikes a good many here, as a gross case of protection. Whether we are Conservatives or Liberals, in these days I think most of us object to anything that is distinctly protective, and unless the gentlemen who come here to-day to oppose this paper can clearly show us that these duties are not protective I am afraid they will not convince us. However, I do not propose at all to anticipate what may be said against the paper that we have listened to to-day, but I wish with the permission of this Association to add one or two words from the strictly Anglo-Indian point of view entirely in support of the paper which Mr. McKay Smith has read. I shall confine myself especially, as I have no doubt others will speak on the same side hereafter, to one particular point upon which I think I can speak with some little authority, simply for this reason that I have very carefully followed for many years past the course of public discussion on every Indian political question, and I may venture to say that I have taken particular interest in the questions that are before us this afternoon, especially with regard to the English duties on Indian silver plate as compared with the Indian duties on English imported cotton goods. That has been touched on by Mr. McKay Smith, and anyone who has taken the trouble to read the Parliamentary paper upon this subject will see that we who oppose these duties are all united on one point—I mean considering it from the Indian point of view: I do not say Anglo-Indian, but Indian—*i.e.*, from the point of view of every Indian community, whether Englishmen in India or the great native community of India at large, or the native silver craftsmen. I think that one point on which we are all united in objecting especially to these duties is this: that it seems a monstrous thing for a Government, and especially for a Liberal Government and a Free Trade Government, to say to us Indians:

"We insist, against all your views, your foolish protectionist views (as they chose to call them at the time), we insist on your abolishing your Indian duties on our cotton manufactures; yet we refuse to give you this paltry, this utterly insignificant act of reciprocity in abolishing the English import duties on Indian silver goods." We think that that is a monstrous act of inconsistency. Now, "my Lords," in that magnificent way which, as Mr. McKay Smith has well pointed out, they invariably adopt when addressing black beetles or Indian governments or any such inferior creatures, say calmly "the two cases are not parallel; the duties on the import of cotton goods into India were protective duties." Now, sir, those who have followed this question as carefully as I have, will be aware that that position has been not only distinctly traversed, but I venture to say has been proved to be distinctly false. It has been proved not only by the British Indian Association of Calcutta, but I think by our own Association—I am not positive as to that, but certainly by the British Indian Association of Calcutta, the Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta, the Chamber of Commerce of Bombay, in fact, by every Association in India, that position had not only been objected to, but it has been declared to be positively false. It is true that the duties on grey goods which were repealed during Lord Lytton's time, were to some extent protective. Although a Conservative I opposed that repeal very strongly, and felt very strongly that it was not wanted; still we may admit that the duties on grey goods were, to a certain extent, protective—for this reason, that the goods were manufactured largely in India, and therefore the Indian manufacturer did lose some protection by the abolition of those duties. But now with regard to the duties that were repealed the year before last, it is absolutely false to say that they were protective—for this reason, that to a very large extent the Bombay mills were incapable, in fact, there was not a single mill in India that was capable, of manufacturing some of the qualities of cotton goods, the duties on which were then repealed. How, then, could those duties in any possible way be protective? They were not protective. The statement was protested against in the most vehement terms, and disproved on the most clear and conclusive terms by the British Indian Association, and by every other Indian authority at that time. Therefore, I think it is really a shocking thing that the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury should publicly, in a Parliamentary Paper that they have published, and in a communication to the Secretary of State for India, state that the reason why they do not consider those two cases to be parallel is that those import duties were protective duties. That, sir, is the point that I wished just to lay before this

Association, and to commend to Mr. McKay Smith and our other English friends who are joining us in this good work. It is a point which seems to me to be absolutely unanswerable. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. R. M. HOLBORN asked whether the remarks of the gentleman who had just sat down had reference to the subject of the paper, viz., whether these duties were fair to the Indian craftsman?

The CHAIRMAN ruled that the remarks of Mr. Lethbridge were quite pertinent to the subject.

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I am glad to know that this subject can be treated, not as a party question at all, but one, the somewhat obvious bearings and interesting points of which elicit the support and consideration of men of all parties. We might recall the efforts which this Association has made several times in this matter; I have in mind more especially the large meeting that was held early in 1882, and the two or three memorials that your Council have sent to the Secretary of State. I may just say, partly in reply to the gentleman who has just spoken, that really the subject has been almost exhausted in its more technical details. What Mr. Roper Lethbridge alluded to just now was one of the political arguments that have been brought in as an afterthought by the Lords of the Treasury, in order to thrust aside the unanswerable arguments in favour of immediate removal of these duties. Now, as already remarked, the subject itself and all the argument that can be brought to bear upon it are, as I maintain, exhausted. (Hear, hear.) We need not go further than the Parliamentary Paper, No. 347, headed "East India (Gold and Silver Plate)," which all of you no doubt have seen, and in which alone every aspect of the matter is comprised. It contains that notable memorial or letter of the Calcutta Trades' Association; also one from the Madras Association, our own memorial, and several others; but not the least important of these documents is the communication from the Government of India itself last year, which is such an emphatic remonstrance in support of the efforts that we have in view. I may mention especially the various letters to the Treasury by Sir Louis Mallet—that excellent and valuable man, now retired from public service (hear, hear)—(and we only know by chance now and then what he has done during the years of his public life) (hear)—showing how steadfast he has been in supporting this long-needed reform. To the people of this country, amidst our vast financial interests, this is a mere paltry duty; but, as has been well remarked by Mr. McKay Smith, it is of enormous importance to

Indian industries. (Hear, hear.) Then it may be said, The thing is done; argument is finished; why flog a dead horse? Well, that is not exactly the case. The serious argument in favour of these duties is dead enough; but we have yet to struggle with a certain rampant and restive steed, sometimes spoken of as the "Flying Childers." (Laughter.) With that noble animal there is no sort of argument that will tell except some such method as used to be employed, I think, in my native county of Yorkshire, with horses when they are particularly obstinate—put them in a very close box; and the only close box that Mr. Childers will understand is a division against him. (Hear, hear.) I trust that some motion, to be made probably by our excellent friend, Sir George Balfour, or Mr. Slagg, the member for Manchester, or a member from the other side of the House, will bring Mr. Childers and the Lords of the Treasury to book in this matter. Of course, as we know, the bugbear in the way is that of drawbacks. Mr. Gladstone alluded in his Budget speech to £170,000 as the estimated amount required to cover drawbacks. He admitted that that was a contemptible matter in itself; but he laid stress on the possibility of fraudulent claims. Now, it is strange if men of so much ability cannot devise some means of withstanding those fraudulent claims. But we propose to do away with any difficulty as to fraudulent claims—that is, by sweeping away the whole thing altogether. (Hear, hear.) Of course, here are certain class interests to be overcome. A few large dealers who hold large stocks of course make a clamour, as other persons who were under excise duties before did; but those were disregarded and their claims were treated as being against the public interest altogether. And, Mr. Chairman, if we are to talk about interests, are not the interests of the Indian artisan to be considered? These difficulties which the officials see can be dealt with; what statesmen have to look at are those things which are not so obvious. We should bear in mind the increased trade which will set in on every side——

The CHAIRMAN: I think we had better confine ourselves this afternoon strictly to the subject of the paper, and consider these duties as they affect the Indian silver craftsman.

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD: I am coming to that, Sir, but I am now speaking of the obstacles in the way of the removal of these duties. There is again the interests of the electro-platers. There is an argument that has not been generally dwelt upon, but which strikes me as exceedingly forcible, and that is this: these duties act

in favour of electro-platers as distinctively protective duties; they are an enormous subsidy on behalf of electro-plating, and on that ground alone they are indefensible, and out of all parallel with the legislation of the day. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the position of the Indian craftsman, I think, you yourself, sir, and all Anglo-Indians, will feel that it does not require any explanation in detail. There is this great consideration. In India we have, roughly speaking, only a broad level of agricultural industry. It has been pointed out by Famine Commissioners and other authorities that one of the best means of securing the steady and permanent prosperity of India, would be the introduction of a variety of industries. (Hear, hear.) But here we have an old industry, an industry which is indigenous to the country, which is congenial to many castes and classes of people; they can manufacture these objects of art at a very moderate cost: why should they be excluded, as these duties exclude them, from competing on fair terms in our English market? (Hear, hear.) We have seen old industries in India one after the other die out before the mighty march of mechanical manufacture, and, though we may regret it, there is no help for this. This, however, is not a question of machinery; it is a question of handicraft, which no machinery can do away with. But what machinery could not do, this pitiful and oppressive duty is doing; this duty, paltry enough in itself, contemptible as an element in English finances, crushes that industry out, forbids it to rise, and will, no doubt, cause it to deteriorate more and more. Therefore, we have got so far as this: the matter has been argued in every shape; it is time that something decisive were done. I trust that to-day some resolution may be passed, or some definite indication given which will go to the right quarter. I hope something will be done to signify that, in the opinion of this Association, the time has come when this request for the total repeal of these duties and regulations must be listened to. (Hear, hear.)

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR, K.C.B., M.P.: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in bearing testimony to the remarkable paper which Mr. McKay Smith has read, for it gives an amount of valuable information which appears to me to cover the whole subject under discussion. At the same time, I would earnestly beg the attention of the meeting to the efforts of Mr. Watherston, in regard to this matter. He has for years been engaged in trying to bring about a satisfactory solution of these questions connected with the silver-plate duty, and I am sure he is entitled to be recognized as one, who has laboured well (and, I hope, in the final

result, successfully) in the cause. At the close of the discussion this afternoon, a series of resolutions will be proposed to you, and I have much pleasure in being the mover of the first one. I think everyone who has listened to the paper of Mr. Smith's will agree with him in thinking that it is most desirable in the interests of the country that the change he advocates should take place, viz.: that the English duties on gold and silver plate should be abolished, as well as all compulsory Hall-marking. Of course, speaking as an Indian, I advocate the change very strongly as an act of justice to India, to enable the people of that country to export the valuable silver articles which they are capable of making. I need not say that India is entitled to this consideration, seeing the great change which she has made with regard to her import duties. Mr. Roper Lethbridge has spoken very warmly and strongly about that change. I join with him in thinking that India on that account alone is entitled to a consideration. I may mention that India two years ago sacrificed revenue to the amount of two millions sterling, of which nearly a million and three-quarters was taken off English goods alone. Therefore, India has shown a spirit of independence and considerateness for English trade which England has never reciprocated with regard to Indian trade. It has been my duty in the House of Commons on various occasions to point out the fact that up to 1840 no country was more oppressed with regard to duties than India was. Up to that time double duties were charged upon all the articles of trade and commerce in India—I mean double that charged upon the trade and commerce of our colonies and of foreign nations. Since that time a change has taken place, and I hope with some advantage to India, but not to the extent India deserves. I may mention one point which it appears to me is worthy of consideration, and that is this: that in the Session before last, in the House of Commons, Lord Hartington in speaking upon the Indian Budget waited patiently until Mr. Gladstone came into the House; he then turned round and made a personal application to him to remove the duties on Indian plate. I have never before seen the Prime Minister personally appealed to, to have any duty removed.

Mr. H. LIGGINS: But he did not withdraw it.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR: Of course he did not, or we should not now be here for the purpose of having it withdrawn. I merely mention that to show that the Secretary of State for India had the courage to appeal to the Prime Minister publicly, and not in the

usual Cabinet fashion, to have that done which has not even yet been done. It is of great importance that we should press the question, and I am sure that this meeting will greatly aid in bringing about the removal of these duties. I have much pleasure in stating that I have been in personal communication with the Chancellor of the Exchequer on several occasions on this subject. Of course he conceals what he intends to do, but I have no hesitation in saying that he intends doing something this Session. What that something is, is of course a sealed book; but I think myself that the pressure brought to bear by this meeting and by a deputation to the Chancellor of the Exchequer will end in the duty on silver and gold plate being repealed, and the Hall-marking modified. There is one point which the Chancellor of the Exchequer pressed upon me, and which I feel is deserving of great consideration, and that is the question of the payment of drawbacks. That appears to me to be one great difficulty which is in our way in regard to taking off the duty upon silver plate. £300,000 has been mentioned as the sum which would have to be paid as drawback on these old stocks of plate. I have every reason to believe that this is far in excess of the sum which will actually be wanted. I think myself that if gentlemen interested in the trade, and acquainted with the trade, enter into a calculation they will find that a sum equal to about two years' duties paid to the Government on silver plate will be about sufficient for the purpose of covering the drawback. With regard to gold, I should say from all I have heard that a smaller sum, even only one year's amount of duty, would be required. I think Mr. Watherston makes that total sum out to be about £135,000, at any rate I believe that from £100,000 to £135,000 would be ample to cover the whole of the duty taken off gold and silver stock still remaining. Then there is another point which I think is deserving of consideration. I am inclined at present to allow the Hall-marking to go on, but not in the form in which it goes on at the present time. I think that the practice as to the Hall-marking of silver should be assimilated to that as to the Hall-marking of gold. I believe that Hall-marking of gold is quite optional—(No)—at any rate it is allowed to vary so that four or five different standards may be marked, whereas with silver only one standard is used. I think that is a defect which ought to be remedied. Nay more, I would agree fully with the remarks made by Mr. McKay Smith as to the protective nature of this duty. I think the time has now come when our interests will not suffer if we do away with Protection altogether. I think we are quite able now to take care of ourselves. In former days probably it was very necessary indeed that protection should exist for the purpose of having honest tradesmen; but I think we have got sufficient safeguard now in the notoriety which a tradesman would

find attached to him if he failed to supply articles up to the standard he professed, and therefore it is not necessary for us to require at all to have that assay from the Goldsmiths' Company which will necessarily define what the standard of silver is. Those are points which I would press upon the meeting. Now with regard to the question of the public policy of doing away with these duties, I would remind you that the duty upon silver is something like 33 per cent. of its value, and the duty upon gold about 25 per cent. Now is it not monstrous that duties like those should be charged. Surely the time has come for us to lighten the charge at all events; if we cannot get it off entirely, we ought at any rate to get it reduced to certainly 2 or 3 per cent.; and such a percentage as that would hardly be worth levying on a trade of such small dimensions. I feel indebted to Mr. McKay Smith for information which I myself had not before obtained—viz., as to the stagnant state of the trade in gold and silver plate. On the figures he gives the whole amount of the duty on silver plate obtained by the Government last year was £48,000, and as to the duty on gold plate, according to Mr. Watherston, it was only £25,000. These are wretched sums to levy upon a trade such as this, and it is unworthy of the Government to do it. It is an amount of money which the Government could not possibly feel any difficulty in entirely dispensing with, and yet we have it on good authority that it means ruin to the workman and ultimately the destruction of his trade. I have no hesitation in saying, from the information I have collected and the inquiries I have made, that the industry would be vastly increased if there were freedom of trade; indeed, we know from our experience of other trades that all these restrictions greatly impede manufacture in every way, and lessen the wages of the working man. I have been intimately acquainted with one who took a deep interest in Free Trade, and who was the means of removing at one blow restrictive and harassing duties upon one thousand articles; and, gentlemen, I have always been in favour of Free Trade. The result of these duties may be illustrated in this way. The manufacture of plate in America is, I believe, carried on to a far greater extent than it is in this country; and yet the very articles which are manufactured there, are made by men who have been induced to go to America from this country. That is true not only with regard to silver plate, but also with regard to watches. Free Trade does not exist with regard to gold watches, and consequently, as I am informed by one of the foremost manufacturers of watches in this country, the best of our English workmen are induced to go to America and carry on their trade there. Having obtained the Papers to which Mr. Martin Wood referred (I mean the Parliamentary Paper,

No. 347), I have much pleasure in informing him that I intend to move to-night for the additional papers which he has asked me to move for in order to complete the collection of documents on this subject. If I can be of any assistance to the meeting in urging forward the question in Parliament I need not say that I shall be very happy to do so. But of course the meeting will understand that there is power in a private member to do but very little in Parliament, because if a matter of this kind went to a division the House, as a general rule, would support the propositions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. My recommendation to you, therefore, would be, that if anything is done, instead of calling upon Members of Parliament to divide the House of Commons, a deputation should go from this meeting to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He will, of course, give no information; he will thank you for the representations which you make to him, and for the information you give him; but he will not, of course, avow the policy which he will adopt until the Budget is brought in. I thank the meeting, Sir, for the attention they have given to these remarks.

Mr. R. M. HOLBORN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The subject on which we are specially invited to-day is, the special injustice of the English duties on gold and silver plate as affecting the Indian silver craftsman; and upon that subject I have really not yet heard a word spoken. The way in which Indian silver has been treated is this: it has been subjected not to one duty, but to a double duty. When the Customs have received the one duty they have refused to give a receipt for it, in order to clear it from the imposition of a duty over again. That is the hardship, if any, upon the Indian silver craftsman and upon Indian silver. A previous speaker (Mr. Martin Wood) made the extraordinary statement that the technical part of the subject was exhausted. That statement simply astounded me. Why, the technical part of the subject is, I will venture to say, not understood by nine out of ten of those present at this meeting. Is it known what happens because the Customs have refused to give a definite receipt, such a receipt as they have given for tobacco and other goods, by the means of which they are able to be traded from one end of the country to the other without further duty—because the Customs have persistently refused to give a receipt for the duty of 1s 6d on silver? Is it known what the effect of that refusal is upon the Indian silver craftsman, whose interests we are bidden to-day especially to take into consideration? I will tell you, because I am sure it is not known. It was stated at a meeting two years ago in

connection with this subject that when the respectable firm of Willis Rodwell and Co. were paying duty on three hundred or four hundred ounces of silver, they presented to the Customs a document which I showed to that meeting, and which I have again here to-day [*vide* Appendix, document marked E], containing a description of the silver on which they were paying the duty of 1s 6d per ounce, and asked the Customs authorities to sign it, in order that when they took the finished work subsequently to Goldsmiths' Hall to be stamped they might take it piece by piece and say, "Try this piece by piece, so that if one or two pieces have to be smashed up we need not sacrifice the rest of the parcel." The Customs authorities would not do that. They gave a receipt for the block of silver, comprising thirty or forty articles undistinguished from one another, and the consequence was that if that firm had had those articles tested, and found to be under standard, the whole lot would have been smashed up. That is only one result. I remember stating at the meeting to which I have referred that there was then at the St. Katherine's Dock Company's warehouse another consignment of silver from another part of India, Kurrachee, and that the importers would probably have to send it back because the Customs would not give a receipt when they got their duty, thereby rendering it liable to be taxed over again by the people at Goldsmiths' Hall. Now, every ounce of that silver has been sent back to the poor maker in India simply because of the refusal of the Customs to sign a definite receipt for the duty it had taken; so that those who had the enterprise and went to the labour and trouble of sending that parcel of silver goods over here, are not likely to send any more. In that case the duty was paid, and the Customs authorities refused to give a receipt for it. The silver was put up to public auction by a next-door neighbour of mine in Mincing Lane, and because the buyer had no guarantee that he would not be asked for the duty over again at Goldsmiths' Hall if he wanted English currency in the shape of the Hall-mark being put upon it, the silver, only fetched at that public sale about two-thirds of the current value which it should have realized as duty-paid silver. That, gentlemen, was the direct result not of the imposition of the 1s 6d duty, which previous speakers have laid so much stress upon, but of the refusal of those who take that duty to free the silver once and for all from having to bear the imposition of the second duty. What we have to discuss here to-day is, the question of silver having to bear double duty. Surely that is of much more importance than the petty amount of the duty in itself. It is not merely that it involves 3s instead of 1s 6d; but a man naturally objects to run a horse if it is handicapped by partial and

ignorant judges to bear a weight which has no right to be attached to it. (Hear, hear.) Another melancholy result of this refusal of the Customs to give a discharge is this. One part of the Executive refuses to put itself into co-operation and harmony with another in carrying out the same law. The importer pays duty on the whole block; he takes the whole block to Goldsmiths' Hall (he cannot take it piece by piece, as he should be able to do under any proper system, and with a proper receipt such as is given upon all other goods); he has to take up the whole block. I may mention the case of the Madras firm (Messrs. P. Orr and Sons), the correspondence as to which appears in the Parliamentary Paper (No. 347) "on the subject of the taxation of gold and silver plate, and of the practice of compulsory Hall-marking of gold and silver wares;" and which paper was reviewed in *The Times* of the 7th January last. That firm sent to England fifty-five pieces of Indian silver work, consisting of cups, goblets, spoons, and so on, weighing 335 oz. The import duty of 1s 6d per oz. was paid upon it. It was then sent to Goldsmiths' Hall to be marked; and because it was not allowed to be sent one piece at a time, the whole lot was smashed up, it being below English standard. Gentlemen, mark the result of this demand for double duty upon Indian silver—a demand which English silver, of course, is not subject to. In one case I mentioned, you have Indian silver put up for sale, and, because there is no guarantee as to further duty, it is sold for two-thirds of its value; in the next case I have called attention to, you have silver sent back to India because the 1s 6d duty will not free it; and in the case of that Madras firm you have beautiful specimens of Indian silver work smashed up—simply because one branch of the Revenue will not carry out its duties in a decent way as any ordinary business man would do, and give a definite receipt when it is paid money. I read this morning the original version, I think, of this tragedy that we are now here to discuss—and we here have the advantage that the *dramatis personæ* are all well known to us. "The English silversmiths, wishing to justify themselves, said, Who is my neighbour? And it was answered, A certain silversmith went down from Kurrachee to London and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his trade insignia, wounded him in his reputation, and departed, taking away his means of living. And by chance there came down a certain priest that way; and when he saw him he passed by on the other side"—of course, that was the High Priest, Mr. Gladstone—"And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him and passed by on the other side. But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was, and when

"he saw him he had compassion on him; And went to him, and bound up his wounds, and set him on his own hobby, and brought him to a Public and took care of him." The Levite, in the present re-cast of the original, is Mr. Watherston; he was "at the place and looked on him"—he actually went to the St. Katherine's Dock and saw the very silver I have referred to, which has since been returned to the makers in India. But he never mentioned that in his representations to the Government at all; he did not talk about the Indian artizan then, nor the refusal of the Customs to give a receipt, nor the paying duty a second time over at Goldsmith's Hall—not a word of it. The "Good Samaritan," let us hope, will prove to be the East India Association, and the "twopence," given to the host at the sign of the British Public, is the expense and trouble which the East India Association is now taking on behalf of the poor Indian artizan. Let us hope that the British public will take care of him, and prevent his utter ruin by these duties. We are summoned here to-day to speak on behalf of the poor Indian artizan. What does he want? He wants Free Trade—not the Free Trade that has been palavered before you to-day in connection with a lot of extraneous things; he wants only to be put upon the same level with the British craftsman. The British craftsmen would be quite content to say, "We do not care who comes here; let them all pay 1s 6d." The Indian craftsman says the same thing; but he objects when he pays his money that he cannot get a receipt for it, and that when he has paid his money once in Thames Street he should go to Cheapside and be told, "We know nothing about Thames Street; if you want English currency for this silver you must pay over again." Now let us carry this parallel a little farther. We know who the High Priest is who passed by on the other side, and who the Levite is who passed by on the other side, and we can guess at the Good Samaritan; but who were the operators? The Commissioners of Customs have been petitioned over and over again; the Board of Trade have been petitioned; memorials have been sent to the India Office when Lord Hartington was Indian Secretary. All these facts about double duty have been clearly laid before every department, but carefully concealed from the head of the Government, both here and in India. Now, who were the operators who met this "certain silversmith" on his travels from Kurrachee to London? First of all we have Sir Charles Du Cane, in Thames Street: he is the ringleader. What the Indian craftsman wants is a receipt for the duty when he pays it, and the man who will not give it is Sir Charles Du Cane. Then the men who ought to have protected the Indian craftsman are the Board of Trade

authorities, and the active gentleman there to whom memorials have been transmitted is our esteemed friend Sir T. H. Farrer: he looked on whilst the former one refused the receipt. And the other perpetrator of this atrocity was Sir Louis Mallet. What did he do about this double duty? Sir Louis Mallet, in the India Office, had the memorial before him when he arranged the contents of this Parliamentary Paper; and he suppressed the fact entirely, both from our own Home Government and from the Indian Government, that Indian silver was not only liable to 1s 6d duty, but to have the 1s 6d duty demanded over again. So Sir Louis Mallet was the man who covered the escape of both the other perpetrators by concealing the facts from the Government. I have here to-day, and I now hand to the Chairman, papers showing the fact that I have stated—viz., that Indian silver is liable to double duty. They are copies of documents which have been sent to every branch of the Executive. That is the subject we have to discuss to-day, and those papers contain the evidence of the facts I have stated, which prove that the evil is less from unjust laws than, first, from the monstrous maladministration of the laws; second, from an utter indifference on the part of the trade, alike to the artistic productions, to the maladministration, and to every absurd bogey set up by arrogance, ignorance, and obstinacy; third, to the gross perversity of those on this side, to whom, from time to time, experimental consignments of the most beautiful products of Indian silver ware are made; and, fourth, to the obstructive and destructive red-tape conflict between the administrators of law, represented by the Customs on one side, and the Excise or Goldsmiths' Hall authorities on the other.

MR. HENRY LIGGINS: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I notice that this meeting has been very extensively advertised for the last fortnight in *The Times* newspaper, and I beg especially to draw the attention of the gentlemen of the Press to the fact, that at the fullest period of this meeting there were fifty-one persons in the room, not counting the reporters. That is all that the East Indian Association of London have succeeded in drawing together on this, to them, very important question—to hear a paper read by a gentleman who, I understand, is not in the trade, and therefore is, simply like myself, one of the outside public. You have few Indians here to back up your views, and where are all the London silversmiths?—where are the Birmingham and Manchester silversmiths? The only one here to agitate for this repeal is Mr. Watherston.

Mr. E. J. WATHERSTON : I see a great many more here.

Mr. H. LIGGINS : Mr. Watherston is the only agitator here to take any part in it, and what are his opinions worth ? (Question.)

The CHAIRMAN requested Mr. Liggins to confine his attention to the question before the meeting.

Mr. H. LIGGINS : I will speak to the question as clearly as I can. I understood the last speaker to say that he was unable to obtain, on payment of the duty on silver plate at the Customs, any receipt.

Mr. R. M. HOLBORN : I said you could not obtain a definite receipt. I have handed to the Chairman the receipt which they were requested to sign, and would not sign.

Mr. H. LIGGINS : Well, you asked for a receipt, and could not get it. My reply to that is, that having paid something like £5000 or £6000 of duty in a day on other articles than silver, I am perfectly able to state that the Customs never give receipts at all.

Mr. EDWARD J. WATHERSTON : I beg your pardon. They do.

Mr. H. LIGGINS : Well, I have paid large sums as duty, and I have never got a receipt. The reason is this : that, until the Customs have examined the warrants for the goods they are unable to see if the amount received is correct ; if there is no mistake, the goods are liberated from bond the next day, which is the best and only receipt the owner cares to have.

Mr. EDWARD J. WATHERSTON : Do you say there is not a receipt for silver plate duty ?

Mr. H. LIGGINS : I am not speaking of silver plate.

Mr. R. M. HOLBORN : I can speak of, at any rate, one article other than silver plate, and that is tea, and I can say that your statement is incorrect. Our firm pay upon £70,000 a year, and I have been for more than forty years in that firm.

Mr. H. LIGGINS : The subject of the paper is "the special injustice" of these duties as affecting India, and I controvert that statement for this reason. Every country in the world that sends its plate

here is taxed to exactly the same amount, and therefore no special injustice is done to India. If I buy a lot of plate in Paris, and bring it over here, either for my own use or for sale, I have to pay this duty of 1s 6d per oz.

The CHAIRMAN: Then, sir, your view is, that because you do harm to one man you cannot do harm to another man; you consider that if you do harm to all men alike no man has a right to complain? (Hear, hear.)

Mr. H. LIGGINS: At any rate it is fair all round, and there is no "special injustice" to India, even if there is harm. Now, is there harm? I deny that there is, and I speak now as a user of plate. There is one consideration which does not seem to have entered into the mind of any one of the gentlemen who spoke to-day—at all events no one alluded to it. I say it is an injustice to the owners of the millions and millions of pounds' worth of plate in the United Kingdom that all their plate should be reduced 1s 6d per oz. just to satisfy Mr. Watherston. (Oh, oh.) Well, Mr. Watherston is about the only man in his trade who advocates the repeal of these duties. (Oh, oh.) There was a letter in *The Times* which was not contradicted by Mr. Watherston, and which was written by a firm who, I am told, is one of the most eminent manufacturers in the trade. They stated that at a meeting of the trade on this subject Mr. Watherston was turned out of the room. That statement has not been contradicted, and I therefore take it to be true. I have in my hand a report containing the words of one of the most eminent gentlemen in the silversmith's trade in London, Mr. Garrard, of the Haymarket, who said "he wished to correct a statement made by Mr. Watherston as "to the duty being one-fourth of the value; spoons of the value of "£12 would weigh 30 oz., and the duty upon this would be not more "than £2. 5s. He thought that nothing could be more unjust than "that a person who made his living by a trade should agitate to do "harm to that trade. The persons who most suffered by this agitation "of the duty on silver plate would not be the masters, but the work- "men. The time-honoured system of Hall-marking had been of great "advantage, and was a guarantee to the public who bought silver, and "he hoped would long continue to be compulsory."

Mr. EDWARD J. WATHERSTON: It is a lot of nonsense.

Mr. H. LIGGINS: Not at all. It stands to reason that if the

English workman has to make £100,000 worth of goods and gets certain wages, then £50,000 worth of goods coming in from abroad to compete in the same market must have a tendency to reduce the amount of money which the manufacturer has to spend among his workmen. This is a rich man's tax; and the rich man has not yet asked for this reduction. Look at that magnificent Indian plate on the table. It is a delight and a charm to the man of taste, but who is it that can buy it? It is not ordinary people or the working class who delight in their family plate, their spoons and forks, and their teapot. The things you see there are articles which would go to the rich man's table. Yet no rich man has publicly asked for a reduction of 1s 6d per oz. That claret jug that is exhibited—it is very beautiful, but it is very likely copied from something that Mr. Watherston himself may have selected and sent out there to be copied. We are not so ignorant, from the number of museums which give us an opportunity of judging of these things, as to be gulled by a thing of that sort, and to be told that it is of Indian design. What Mr. Watherston would like to do is this: he would like to import his spoons and forks over from India, having them made out there by men at 1s a day instead of having to pay English wages here of 6s a day. That, I am told, is just what the manufacturers would do. A working man in the trade has told me that that is what will happen. I was going to make this observation. Twice has a Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone, at the instance of Mr. Watherston, brought in his Budget and proposed to remove this 1s 6d duty, and twice, in consequence of the pressure of the trade and of public opinion, he has had to withdraw that proposal. Since then the Indian Government has proposed the same thing to the Home Government, who have stoutly refused to repeal the duty at present. Reading what appears in the papers, as far as I can understand the English language, it is clear that the Government have declared that they would not and could not repeal the duty. I take it there can be no doubt about it that the Government have altogether refused to entertain the question at present, even upon the entreaty of the Indian Government, and the principal reason was that which has been mentioned here to-day, the difficulty as to allowing drawbacks. I should be sorry to make an inaccurate statement, but what I have said must have come under the cognizance of everybody who has taken an interest in this discussion. It is almost a hopeless case. Well, I believe it to be a very hopeless case. I hope and believe that the agitation will never succeed. It would inflict great injustice to the owners of the millions of pounds' worth of plate which we delight to

see all over the country, to have their silver depreciated 1s 6d an oz. in order to prop up a trade that has been injured much more by the introduction of electro-plating than by the introduction of good Indian plate.

Mr. JAMES SLATER: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have not the gift of fluency in the English language which is possessed by some of the gentlemen who have spoken, but I should like to give you my views as a manufacturer, because so far the discussion has been entirely on one side. Now, let me deal first of all with the subject of the *duty*. I think I may appeal to Mr. Watherston to confirm me when I say that I am probably the owner of the largest quantity of duty-paid plate in London except perhaps some of the large retail dealers. I belong to a firm of manufacturers, and I am quite sure that it would be an absolute injury to my firm, with our large stock, if we were deprived of the money which we have paid to the Government of this country, and which has gone in payment of certain duties and the reduction of certain taxes. Suppose we have paid £2500 upon our stock, that amount has gone in reduction of taxes which you, gentlemen, and the general public would have had to share in paying. I think it would be absolutely unfair to sweep away that duty without giving us back the money which we have actually advanced. We are not in the position of tea dealers and wine merchants and so forth, who can leave the bulk of their stock in bond and simply pay the duty when they obtain their orders and send their goods away to their customers. Of course the duty in itself is a small matter. As a large manufacturer, I may tell you that I do not care one jot about the duty providing that we are repaid the duty which we have already advanced. Then we can start fair with our Indian friends. But unless you allow us drawback, they will be in the position of bringing in their goods without duty, to compete with ours upon which we have paid 1s 6d per oz.; and that, I maintain, would be giving them an advantage over us to which they have no right. If you give us the repayment of what we have advanced to the public, you may take the duty and welcome. But it seems to me that the gentleman who read the paper to-day has wilfully shut his eyes to the fact that this is not a protective duty as against foreign or Indian manufacturers; the home manufacturers pay every sixpence of this duty just as much as they do. Mr. Smith should really not let the public run away with such a foolish notion. The home manufacturers pay the duty just the same as the importers.

Mr. C. McKAY SMITH: Do I understand you to say that that fact is withheld in my paper? You will find at page 41 that I have dealt with it.

Mr. J. SLATER: I was not aware of that; I only saw the paper since I came into this room, and that had escaped my notice. Anyhow, I say that that fact should be kept well before the public—that whilst the Indian manufacturers have to pay 1s 6d per oz., we have to pay the same. Remove the 1s 6d duty, and we shall be on the same terms with them. I am quite content, if you give us drawback for the duty we have already paid, that you should do away with the duty altogether. Then, upon the question of Hall-marking, having regard to the quality of some of the articles sent here from India, not to mention other countries, how is it possible to Hall-mark them? It is preposterous to say that you can Hall-mark as if up to British standard the goods that come into this country. I am speaking of facts within my own knowledge when I say that some of the goods that have been submitted for assay at Goldsmiths' Hall have been as much as 13 or 14 pennyweights in the pound (troy) below the standard. Now, would you like to have all the shillings and sixpences offered to you as of standard value, and found on testing to be worth that much less? Let the Indian people make their goods up to standard, and the circumstances will be different. As I told a friend of mine, who is a large manufacturer in India, "Send in your goods equal to the English standard, then there can be no possible objection to their being marked, and nobody will object to it." I have in my hand a paper which altogether throws out of your calculation a great deal that has been said. There has been an arrangement made by which Indian goods (or any goods, I presume; I do not know that it refers especially to India) can be presented at Goldsmiths' Hall with very little ceremony indeed. Of course, gentlemen, we are dealing with goods that by the law of the country are liable to duty, and I say that whilst that is the law you have to submit to it. You must send your goods to Goldsmiths' Hall, and now you have opportunities of doing it with the least possible difficulty. Our friend opposite (Mr. Holborn) knows that, or ought to know it. This great concession has been made to the Indian manufacturer, that if the goods are found to be not of the English standard, instead of breaking them up, as our English goods would have to be broken up, they are allowed to go back again and be re-exported. A case occurred lately where the goods were seriously and grievously below standard—such as, I am sure, our Chairman

would not like to purchase for himself as standard goods—and they were allowed to go back again, and the duty was not confiscated, as it would have been in the case of English goods, but was returned to the importer. Mr. Holborn talked about double duty. All I can say is I have heard a great deal about duties, but I never heard such a statement as that before. It is ridiculous. It would be a fraud on the part of the Goldsmiths' Company, or on the part of the Government, to have taken it. It has been stated that one portion of this duty of 1s 6d per oz. goes to the Revenue, and the rest to Goldsmiths' Company. That is another fallacy. Nothing of the kind goes to Goldsmiths' Company, or any part of the duty. They simply charge a very, very small sum upon certain articles for the cost and trouble of assaying; and if any gentleman wants to see what that cost and trouble means, and why there is some little delay sometimes, let him go to the Goldsmiths' Hall (I myself will give him an introduction), and see the trouble and anxiety that there is in securing the assay. There are thousands of articles there, and they have to assay every individual parcel. Those goods go in at half-past nine in the morning, and all are expected to be returned again at half-past four. To me, as a manufacturer, it is often a matter of surprise that they get through such a large quantity of work so ably in so little time. You certainly have to pay just a trifle—a sum equivalent to the expense of assaying—but the Goldsmiths' Hall do not take a farthing out of what is paid for duty. Then as to the silver itself, no one seems to make any allowance for the waste that arises. We manufacturers pay a duty, not of 1s 6d, but really 1s 3d per oz.; but if we send a certain article, we send it weighing a certain number of ounces more than it will be when it is finished. Therefore that difference just goes to cover the waste, and I challenge anyone here to prove that there is, as one gentleman said, "a very great profit" upon it. It is a mere nominal difference; it is simply to save us from loss. A gentleman here, who happens to be from Sheffield, corroborates my statement that there is no profit upon it. Then there is another statement which I will contradict—viz., that all the electro-platers want this duty taken off. I do not think there is a manufacturer in Sheffield—and I now speak within my own knowledge, for I have had the opportunity of personally talking over the matter with them—I do not think there are more than one or two gentlemen in that business who want this duty taken off. If any of my statements are challenged, I make you a solemn promise that I will establish them either here or somewhere else. Something has been said about the opinion of the working silversmiths themselves upon this matter. Why, at a recent meeting of workmen, at which I

presided on the invitation of the workmen, there was no resolution in favour of the abolition of the duties passed, but all for their retention, and there were 600 or 700 workmen present.

Mr. ROBERT FELLOWES CHISHOLM: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I know very little about the commercial aspect of this question, but I should like to say a few words upon the artistic part of the discussion. I am delighted to see that this matter is causing so much commotion amongst manufacturers at home. It is a very healthy sign, indeed. I have spent twenty-three years in India, and have continually worked with the Indian artizan, so that I can almost claim myself to be an Indian artizan. The objects that you see on that table have not been copied from English manufactures. Some of them were designed by me myself in India, in connection with the Indian workmen, who made them to a certain extent under my superintendence. I think the native artizan of India has been greatly misrepresented, and that the English public do not understand exactly his position. It has been represented to them that India is teeming with artistic manufactories from end to end, and that there is a knot of Englishmen who, in ignorance of what is good, are continually keeping them down, and not properly developing the resources of the country. That is not true. We have a great deal of art in that country, but it is lying dormant. Every man in India is an artist at heart. You have only to put him to work, and he can do almost anything, but, like a true artist, he has no idea of commercial matters. He has no more idea of how to set to work to make his things pay than the man in the moon. What he wants is the Englishman to take him in hand, to teach him how to finish his work, and to make the most of it. When you get that done you will have an art power in India that may well make the English artizan tremble. I know its excellence. To give you a parallel, which I think you will all understand—if you took away from the artists of London the artists' colourmen, their canvasses, their pallets, their colours, and other implements, and said to them, "Now paint," you would put them in a position similar to the Indian artizan at the present moment. They cannot do anything but work with their fingers on their especial arts. They will make you a most perfect bracelet, but when they come to the simple clasp, they will finish it in the most disgraceful manner; they can paint the picture, but they cannot make the frame. I would strongly advocate, and support anything which will tend to bring the work of the Eastern artizan into the market. I am sorry that the time at my disposal will not enable me to deal with this question more

fully, because I think, as I said before, it is a question which is greatly misunderstood, and which, moreover, has been misrepresented in various ways, but to attempt to deal with it in ten minutes, or even in an hour, is, I feel, so utterly impossible, that I shall sit down to make way for any one wishing to speak upon the commercial bearings of the question, as to which I confess I know nothing.

Captain E. A. CAMPBELL desired to speak generally about the removal of duties on certain Indian articles. He was some time at Trichinopoly as Superintendent of Police, and since leaving Her Majesty's Service he had resided in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, and transacted business in Trichinopoly itself. Trichinopoly was the chief seat of the gold and silver manufacturing interest in South India, and probably no unofficial European had seen so much of this business as he had done. From what he had seen he begged to endorse all that Mr. Chisholm had said about the native Indians, not only as workers in gold and silver, but in every other industry. The Indian artizan, if properly handled, would compete successfully with his more fortunate fellow-subjects in this country.

Mr. EDWARD J. WATHERSTON: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I think we had better get back now as quickly as possible to the consideration of the subject that has really brought us here to-day. We are here to discuss this question from an Indian standpoint, and, of course, we are in the presence of a large number of those who are deeply interested in India. As it appears to me, there are two points from which this question can be regarded. In the first place, there is a laudable desire, as I should imagine, on the part of all of us to develop trade with Her Majesty's Indian dominions. It appears to me that there could be nothing more important to this country than to establish the best possible commercial relations with the East, and not to allow anything like unfairness, apparent unfairness, or injustice to prevail as between the subjects of one Queen. We have already, in another part of the world, in Ireland, by repressing trade, to a very great extent, as history tells us, brought about the sad state of the sister Isle, and the same thing might occur in India. There is another standpoint which I think will commend itself to anyone acquainted with India. We have a commodity called silver which is at the present moment worth 4s 3d per oz.; and that is the currency of the East. Now, the value of silver has during the last few years fallen very rapidly from sixty pence to fifty-one pence. Is it not perfectly unreasonable that we should maintain hindrances to

the free consumption of that metal for manufacturing purposes when we have an article with regard to which it is of such great importance that its value should be steady? Those are the two points that I want to bring before you, and I will keep to those two points. With regard to the first point, the development of trade, I should like to read to you the remarks of Lord Ripon. They are very short, and exactly to the point. In the "Letter from the Government of India, No. 26," dated the 23rd January, 1883, to the Secretary of State for India, Lord Ripon says: "We need hardly point out that any measure tending to "increase Indian exports and draw some portion of the population, "however small, away from agriculture to manufactures, would in "any case be very desirable. To these general considerations may, "however, be added the argument that in view of the large sterling "payments to be made annually in England by the Government of "India, it is especially to be desired in Indian interests that any duty "tending to obstruct the consumption of silver in the form of plate, " &c., should no longer be levied." Then he goes on to say: "To "these considerations we may perhaps add another which is of a "political rather than a purely fiscal nature. It cannot be doubted "that the recent abolition of the import duties, although highly "beneficial to India, has been regarded by a considerable section of "the Indian community as having been dictated in the interests of "England. By those who hold such views it is urged that after the "large sacrifices India has made to give complete freedom to trade, it "is not unreasonable to expect that a small fiscal reform of this "nature, which would benefit India, should be made by Her Majesty's "Government in England. Apart from the purely fiscal aspects of the "question, we venture to think it would be desirable on political "grounds to remove this grievance." Now, that is a very important statement by the Governor-General of India. Then I turn to Lord Hartington's appeal to the Government to take off the duties. I find that every penny of the price of silver affects the sterling payments from India to England by no less an amount than 37 crores 77 lacs and 960 rupees; in other words—I am not quite familiar with the Indian currency, but as far as I can make out—it is something like £357,000 for every penny per ounce, so that the Government are losing £357,000 for every penny, or nearly £3,000,000 per annum, taking the difference between 60 pence and 52 pence. At the same time they get the ridiculously small duty back again of £48,000 a year. It is therefore manifest, even from the Government standpoint, that it is most desirable at once to abolish the duties on silver plate. Then perhaps it will be said, "But how

“do you know that the taking off of this duty will affect the price of silver?” Some of you may perhaps be of opinion that it would not do so. Well, my authority for that statement is that of Mr. Robert Giffen, who is a perfect authority upon this, as he is upon a great many other subjects. Mr. Giffen most distinctly says that one of the greatest arguments in favour of taking off the tax on silver plate is that it will tend to make silver much more steady in the market, and in that way would affect the value of the Indian Rupee. But, sir, there is a greater authority than Mr. Giffen—I believe I am right in saying that Sir Thomas Farrer is one of the highest authorities upon this question. He was examined before the Select Committee, and I will read you a short extract from his evidence :—

“199. I understand that you desire to add something to the evidence which you were good enough to give the Committee last year, when you stated, in no doubtful tones, your strong objection to the principle of restricting this or any other trade?—I did.

“200. In the interval has your attention been called to the general silver question of which you consider this forms a part?—Yes; last year I thought the Hall-mark very objectionable, and that the difficulty of repealing it lay in the difficulty of getting the duty for the Chancellor of the Exchequer without it. Latterly I have been employed on questions relating to the Indian difficulty arising from the low price of silver, and having regarded this question in that aspect, I think the Hall-mark more objectionable than ever, and I think the duty even more objectionable than the Hall-mark.

“201. So far from having altered your opinion from last year you have made it stronger?—I have made it much stronger.

“202. Will you just develop it for us; do you consider the silver manufacture in this country to be languishing?—I believe the silver manufacture in this country to be languishing and retrograding when compared with the wealth of the country, and I doubt very much whether the intervention of electro-plating fully accounts for it.”

Then at the end of the evidence, which is of the most important character, we come to this :—

“320. You heard Mr. Giffen's evidence, did you not?—Yes.

“321. You heard his evidence with regard to the effects of Hall-marking and the duty upon the manufacture of silver; do you accept his views?—I do, quite.

“322. You believe that the operation of the laws improving Hall-marking, coupled with the fiscal arrangements, has simply diminished the employment of silver for manufacturing purposes?—Certainly. No one can possibly tell what the effect of taking off a restriction and a duty are, but all experience shows that restrictions and duties tell much more widely and largely than you would imagine they would at first. I think I may say another thing, that the trade are very little to be trusted when they say that they wish to retain a restriction and a duty. Experience shows that trades who are subject to a restriction and duty are very often the last people to wish them taken off, if they think it will admit general competition.

Now, sir, a gentleman has told us that the Government have no intention of taking off this duty. I beg to differ from him altogether; I have a letter in my pocket which is marked "private," and which I therefore am not at liberty to read, but which tells me a very different tale. I may, however, read from published documents, and there is a letter in print from the Government, dated the 22nd January, 1882, as follows:—

"I am directed by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th November expressing the hope of the Secretary of State for India in Council that the duty on silver plate may be remitted in the next Budget. In reply, I am to say that my Lords hope that at the proper time it will be found possible to abolish this duty altogether. But the time suitable for this change must depend not only on the state of the finances of this country but upon other circumstances, such for example as the condition of the trade affected; and my Lords are therefore unable to give any pledge on the subject."

It was clearly, therefore, the intention of the Government to abolish the duties as soon as possible.

Mr. W. CARLTON-WOOD: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen, I have a very few words to say, and I will endeavour to speak to the point. My position, I may say, is this: I might be, if the present laws allowed it, an importer of silver plate. I paid the duty upon the plate you now see on that table. We have heard much about the drawback, but I submit to you, sir, that that is a question with which we have nothing to do, as it does not affect the Indian craftsman. It has been stated by Mr. Holborn that this matter affects the Indian craftsman because the duty is charged twice over. Now, I am not here to defend the English Customs by any means, but allow me to say that that statement, although it may be true in Mr. Holborn's case, hardly applies to the general question before us, because he seems, unfortunately, to have gone, if I may say so, the wrong way to work. I have before now done what he says he could not succeed in doing—namely, got a receipt for the duty I have paid. But, after all, there is no object in going into that question, because of the Revenue Act of 1883, which came into operation on the 25th of August last, and which has probably not come under Mr. Holborn's notice, otherwise he would hardly have thought it worth while to bring up an old grievance. The real question before us is: Does the present state of the English law, both as regards Hall-marking and duty, injuriously affect the Indian silver craftsman? Can anyone who has a perfect knowledge of this question possibly say it does not? The argument was ably put

by Sir George Balfour and by Mr. Roper Lethbridge in this way : We want a wider field for our manufactures ; this manufacture is prevented coming into England for sale by the law as to Hall-marking, and by the duty. India can produce goods that would be readily taken up and sold in England. That statement, I know, has been denied ; but why ? Simply because that at present we do not cater for the English market, as it is closed to us. The Indian craftsman can produce articles which would sell readily in our London shops, and all he wants is a fair field and no favour, and I submit he does not get a fair field under the present laws.

Mr. CORNELIUS B. PARR : Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—As an importer of Oriental objects, more particularly from Japan than India, I should like to mention one circumstance which, I think, should make easier the minds of some of my friends and clients who are connected with the silver trade. Some years ago we commenced importing very largely Oriental china. The china dealers here were in a state of tremendous alarm, and thought their trade was going to be ruined, and they backed that up by refusing to purchase any part of it, or have anything to do with it in any possible way. But the result has been totally different to what was anticipated. In spite of the enormous amount of Oriental porcelain which has come into this country within the last ten years, our own manufacturers of artistic porcelain and pottery have never been so fully and largely employed. The sale of these importations created a large market, indeed, in this country for artistic goods, and I think, considering how very small the manufacture of silver goods in this country is, something of the same kind would be sure to happen in your case, by the removal of restrictions upon the introduction into England of Indian art silver work. I am a native of Birmingham, and I know how very much some of the trades there are languishing from the effect of the narrowmindedness that they have on these subjects. I quite agree with my friend Mr. Streeter, that the only result of the removal of these duties would be to “wake our own people up,” and that they require doing very much indeed. I should be very glad to see my friends, the Sheffield and Birmingham people more particularly, give up the contention about this matter, and allow Free Trade to become perfectly general.

Mr. ROBERT GORDON ORR : Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I desire to say a few words upon this subject, speaking, as I am an Indian manufacturer, from that point of view. The Prince

of Wales recently announced that in 1886 an exhibition would be held in this country of colonial industries, and he hoped that the art industries of India would be largely represented. I wish to state my conviction that so long as the present duties and the present laws as to Hall-marking are continued, it will be simply impossible for the Indian manufacturer to send his wares to this country. It is not merely the question of the duty; of course the English manufacturer pays that as well as the Indian manufacturer, and so far we are on an equal footing, although it is not quite a parallel case; for this reason, that the Indian manufacturers—I mean the natives of that country—are, of course, poor people, and they cannot afford to pay the exorbitant duty of 30 per cent. on the raw material and have that locked up. I will go further than that, and say that I know manufacturers in this country who cannot afford to work up silver simply for the reason that they cannot have their money locked up in this miserable duty. It is surely very late in the day, in this year of grace, that it should be necessary for any one to stand up and say anything against the impolicy of fettering a trade with such duties as these. It is a thing that has been acknowledged by everybody for many years past. Now, passing on from the question of the duty, I wish to bring to your notice this fact, that when we bring in the plate and have paid the duty this silver goes to the Hall. If the silver is then to the value of say half a farthing per ounce below the English standard, that piece is smashed; but not only that piece, but any other number of pieces that may accompany the same delivery of things. In this way some two or three years ago we sent home here fifty-five pieces of Indian silver, and it was all below the English standard—considerably below, I believe—but if it had been only half a farthing in value below the standard, or say one quarter per cent. too low, the same thing would have happened, that silver was smashed, and there is one of the pieces on that table which is worth looking at. Now I may just remark merely in passing that if it should happen that a nut or a screw in any parcel of goods that may be tendered for marking should happen to be below standard, then the whole of those goods are smashed up. It is most monstrous and most tyrannical; it is a practice which breathes, I may say, of the Middle Ages, and one which the Hall authorities most faithfully carry out. It seems to me astounding and incredible that the silversmiths of England (with, I may say, one or two bright exceptions) should have so long and so meekly submitted to treatment so monstrous and so abominable. Here comes this extraordinary anomaly. With silver in this country only one quality is allowed to be stamped; but for gold, the more

precious metal, we have actually five qualities that may be marked, 9, 12, 15, 18, and 22 carat. In gold we have great choice and range of qualities, but with silver we have only one. In France they do these things better. They have their two qualities of silver, '800 and '950; but with gold they give you no range at all; you must have your gold at least 18 carat. There is some sense and rationality you may say about that; but in this country it is quite the reverse. Now what I submit is this: the Hall-marking of silver should be put entirely upon the same footing as gold is now—that is to say, it should be optional, and with a certain range for qualities, one, two, or three qualities, as might be arranged. It would be, at any rate, abolishing the anomaly if we put the treatment of silver upon the same footing as that of gold. Then there is one other matter with regard to Indian manufactures. In India the silver ordinarily procurable is that of the rupee, which is below English standard, and therefore unavailable for this country. The large firms may make arrangements for procuring silver of better quality, but the majority of the silversmiths scattered over the land are not able to do so, and if they can, how are they to tell that it is equal to English? There are only two mints where it can be tested, viz., at Bombay and Calcutta. How are we to get the poor manufacturer of Trichinopoly to send their silver two or three thousand miles away, over a country nearly as big as all Europe? How can the native workman hope to do anything in this trade? Of course in this country, in London, for instance, a manufacturer can have his silver assayed for a few pence, and the destroying hammer of the Hall soon compels him to take that precautionary measure with regard to the smashing up. I believe it would be very much more to the point, and much more reasonable if the Indian Government were to lay an embargo upon, or rather burn up when imported, all the shoddy from Manchester when it is not up to the mark; the Indian Government would be doing a humane and righteous act towards the helpless and cheated millions of its active subjects, and their act would certainly be much more justifiable than the practice of which I am now complaining. Then, as regards cost of abolishing the duty, a great deal has been said about that, but let me tell you that India two years ago abolished duties suddenly, and by a stroke of the pen, amounting to about one and a half millions sterling per annum, and that huge sum was surrendered in obsequious deference to the Manchester people; of course, many claims for drawbacks were made, but the Government took no heed of them, and nobody got any. But here all we ask is, that Indian silver be admitted into England, free of duty, just as English silver is admitted free into India, and that the

Government surrender a sum of something like £50,000, as against a million and a half per annum. Just imagine the difference. This is the treatment of India, by an old country, and a rich country like England, a country that professes to adopt Free Trade. Certainly this sum of £50,000 bears a miserable comparison with the million and a half presented to India and England on the altar of Free Trade. Surely, it would be an act of bare justice to abolish this duty on Indian silver, and so wipe away the mockery and reproach which India casts upon England when she loftily talks of the benefits of Free Trade.

Mr. C. McKAY SMITH, in reply upon the whole discussion, said, When I began to read my paper, some gentleman on the left hand side of the room rose, and had the courage to assert that it was a disgrace that any such untruthful statements should be presented to a roomful of British people. That gentleman had an opportunity subsequently of substantiating that assertion, but I do not recollect that he made any effort to do so in any shape or way.

Mr. LIGGINS : I was stopped by time.

Mr. McKAY SMITH : Perhaps the meeting will enable you to rectify that. I think a gentleman in that part of the room also spoke as to the attitude of the English silversmiths, and particularly of the artizan, in respect to this question. I should say, that in all the long, and at one time, clouded history of the removal of Protection, in nearly every instance the masters have been ranked on the side of adhering to that system of Protection which has now been abandoned.

Mr. LIGGINS : Certainly not. It is a gross misstatement. Mr. Cobden was a manufacturer, and he advocated Free Trade. Mr. Bright was another.

Mr. McKAY SMITH : Well, sir, if these gentlemen say that the state of the artizans in the silver trade is a satisfactory or a healthy one, I will receive their testimony with all respect; but it is different from the information I have received in reply to inquiries made far and near, and which I have taken great pains to make exhaustive. It is the first time I have heard it asserted that the silver trade, so far as the working craftsman is concerned, is in a healthy state, and I have spared no effort to ascertain the real facts of the case. The colonial trade in silver is a very large one. The Blue Books will show those

who care to follow the inquiry that Australia has been the largest foreign customer for silver goods that this country has had for many years. It is within my knowledge that this trade is now largely diverted to the manufacturers of New York through the obstacles thrown in the way of buying in this market by English legislation. Of course, as I have said in the paper which I have had the honour of reading to you, the drawback is in theory supposed to equalize this disadvantage: but it does not compensate manufacturers, and more especially those in the midland towns, for having their goods tumbled about at the docks, after having had them carefully packed by skilled packers. That, coupled with the admitted excellence of the New York goods, has to a very large extent diverted from England colonial and foreign orders which otherwise would have come to her. In reference to the remarks of one of those who have addressed you, I contend that, so far as any influence of ours may extend, we are not here to-day to advocate the reduction of duty, or the removal of double duty, or any temporizing measure whatever; but to use our endeavour that the whole destructive system of duty and Hall-marking may be swept from the face of the earth, and if our efforts fall short of that consummation, I for one consider that we shall have failed. Gentlemen, I have to thank you sincerely for the attention that you have given me.

The CHAIRMAN then put the following resolutions, which by the sanction of the Council were allowed to be submitted, and they were carried unanimously:—

1. That the abrogation of the taxes on Gold and Silver Plate, whether existing in the shape of duty or of fees for compulsory hall-marking and assay, is demanded by every consideration of an enlightened public policy. They stand alone as an exception to that complete assertion of Free Trade principles by which the policy of the country is professedly governed. (Moved by Sir GEORGE BALFOUR; seconded by Mr. ROPER LETHBRIDGE.)

2. That the demand of our Indian fellow-subjects for the abolition of these taxes, which close the English market to one of the choicest products of their industry, is one entitled to our warmest sympathy and support. (Moved by Mr. C. W. ARATHOON; seconded by Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD.)

3. That the official reasons given for the retention of these duties in the correspondence between the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury and the Right Honourable Lord the Secretary of State for

India (Parliamentary Paper, 1884, No. 347), leaves open many points in reference to which further information would be desirable; more especially where such reasons are in apparent conflict with the declaration made by the Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his place in Parliament (May, 1883), to the effect that the sole difficulty in relinquishing these taxes rested upon the question of allowance of cumulative drawback on old stock, and not upon that of the sacrifice of current revenue. (Moved by Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD; seconded by Mr. PARKER.)

4. That it is desirable, in accordance with Resolutions 1 and 2, that a Motion should be made in Parliament at the earliest possible date, affirming the necessity of abolishing the taxation which now interrupts the course of perfect freedom in the manufacture and sale of Gold and Silver Plate—whether existing in the form of import or excise duties, or of compulsory hall-marking, assaying, or licensing regulations. And the Council of the East India Association are solicited to request some Member of Parliament, in whom both the country and the Association have confidence, to give notice of and use his best endeavour to secure a day for such Motion. (Moved by Mr. W. CARLTON WOOD; seconded by Mr. C. W. ARATHOON.)

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, seconded by Mr. ROPER LETHBRIDGE, the thanks of the meeting were accorded to Mr. McKay Smith for his paper.

On the motion of Mr. C. W. ARATHOON, seconded by Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD, the thanks of the meeting were given to General Sir Orfeur Cavenagh for presiding.

The proceedings then terminated.

THE FOLLOWING NOTE was written by Sir George Birdwood in anticipation of the meeting. He says:—"I may be permitted to express my entire concurrence with the objects of the meeting, and, as it is evident from the Parliamentary Papers recently published that you have the sympathy of both the Secretary of State for India and the Indian Government, you may reasonably hope to soon succeed at least in securing the modification in favour of Indian manufacturers and importers of the present practice of Hall-marking."

APPENDIX.

DOCUMENTS REFERRED TO BY MR. HOLBORN IN HIS SPEECH, AND HANDED TO THE CHAIRMAN.

A.

Petition for the Issue of a Certificate of Identity on Payment of Duty on Silver.

The undersigned Importers, Brokers and Buyers of Silver for British Colonies, more particularly for India, hereby most respectfully Petition the Hon. Commissioners of Her Majesty's Customs—that they may be pleased to instruct the heads of the necessary departments to sign a certificate of description and identity on receipt of the duty of 1s 6d per oz. upon manufactured silver ware; to the end that, when the same pieces of silver are presented at Goldsmiths' Hall, or at any of the other Assay Offices of the Excise under the Act of Parliament, at Edinburgh, Dublin, Birmingham, Chester, Exeter, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Sheffield, to receive the Government Stamp, the Excise may recognize the same pieces by weight and pattern as having once paid the duty, so that the Excise may not, as heretofore, require the duty of 1s 6d per oz. to be paid a second time.

Your obedient servants,

FORBES, FORBES & Co., Importers,

LEWIS & PEAT, Brokers,

LOUIS DEE, R. M. HOLBORN, Buyers.

To the RT. HON. SIR CHAS. DUCANE, BART., K.C.M.G., and
the Hon. Commissioners of Her Majesty's Customs.

B.

The following Memorial, signed by Mr. R. M. Holborn, accompanied the above Petition to the Commissioners of Customs:—

"This Memorial further sheweth, that Messrs. R. M. Holborn, Louis Dee and others, were the purchasers of some four hundred ounces of Indian silver manufactures per steamer *Camelot*, entered about 16th June, 1880. That Certificate of Identity was applied for at the Custom House upon payment of duty. That Mr. R. M. Holborn is now desirous to purchase part of the Import of silver per *Agra*, from Kurrachee, now lying in bond at Cutler Street warehouses, consigned to Messrs. Forbes, Forbes & Co. That purchasers are unable to operate solely in consequence of the present state of matters between the Customs and the Excise. That the present import of silver was offered for Public Sale by Messrs. Lewis & Peat, on the 12th December, 1881, and that in consequence of the above-named obstruction to sale, the Importers declared themselves under the necessity of returning the silver to India, and that to prevent such scandal, Mr. Holborn has drafted the accompanying Petition on behalf of all parties concerned in the enterprise of dealing with Indian Silver Manufacturers. That Mr. R. M. Holborn will be at the service of the Hon. Commissioners to render any further explanation which may be desired, and that the same begs to remain,

Your obedient servant,

R. M. HOLBORN."

C.

This is the official report in *The Journal of the East India Association*, made by Mr. Holborn, at the meeting of the 18th January, 1882, when Mr. E. J. Watherston's paper on "Indian and other Foreign Productions in Silver, and why they are virtually prohibited from importation into the United Kingdom," was read and discussed.—*Vide Vol. XIV.*

D.

The following is the reply of the Hon. Commissioners to the Memorial (A):—

CUSTOM HOUSE, LONDON, 21st March, 1882.

SIR,—With reference to your letters of the 6th inst., with regard to the issue of Certificates of Identity of Silver Plate, the Duty upon which has been paid to this department upon importation, I am desired by the Board of Customs to state that the matter is under their consideration in connection with other points affecting the Law and Duty on Plate; and that so soon as a final decision has been arrived at, a further communication will be addressed to you.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

R. M. HOLBORN, Esq.

F. G. WALPOLE, Assistant Secretary.

E.

This is a copy of the Receipt for Duty and Identity which the Customs refused to sign when they received the Duty in January, 1882.

HER MAJESTY'S CUSTOM HOUSE,
THAMES STREET.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY to the Wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company that the Duty of eighteen-pence per ounce has been paid upon the following goods, entered by

as Silver; to wit

Now lying at

Warehouse

Article

Weight

ounces,

dwts.

Size

Workmanship }
or Design }
}

Amount paid as entry

£

„

(Signed)

E. I. WARE continued—At Cutler Street.

Ex. Str. *Camelot*, Capt. Daily. Case marked SS & GH. No. 104.

Lots 36 to 52 are liable to duty on Silver—to be paid by buyers.

SIZES.		SALE LOT. No.		WORKMANSHIP OR DESIGN.	
				Cashmere work, partly gilt round outside. Plain inside top. Inside top gilt. Top screws on to stand. Pointed edges round top.	
EACH.		36	1 1		
7 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches high,		37	2 1		
8 " across top,		38	3 1		
4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " " bottom.		39	4 1		
EACH.		40	5 1	dented	
7 inches high,		41	6 1		
3 " across top,		42	7 1		
2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " " bottom,		43	8 1		
13 $\frac{3}{4}$ " round widest part,					
3 $\frac{1}{2}$ " length of handles.					
EACH.		44	9 1		
3 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches high,		45	10 1		
3 " across top,		46	11 1		
1 $\frac{3}{4}$ " " bottom,		47	12 1		
9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " round top.					
14 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches long,					
3 $\frac{1}{4}$ " wide at widest part,	48	20	1	Partly chased with cashmere work. Plain silver.	
2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " length of paddles.					
16 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches length tray,	49	24	1	Tray, fancy oval. Teapot circular shape. Fancy handle and spout. Three feet. Sugar pot similar to teapot, except that there are two fancy handles, and no spout. Cream pot, exactly similar to teapot, but of smaller size. Enamelled in light blue and dark blue, and partly gilt. Cashmere work.	
9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " width tray,					
5 $\frac{3}{8}$ " height teapot,					
7 $\frac{1}{8}$ " width handle to spout,					
2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " width opening,					
4 $\frac{1}{4}$ " " bottom,					
4 $\frac{1}{8}$ " height sugar basin,					
5 $\frac{1}{2}$ " width handle to handle,					
2 $\frac{1}{8}$ " " opening,					
4 $\frac{3}{8}$ " " bottom,					
4 $\frac{1}{8}$ " height cream pot,					
5 $\frac{1}{4}$ " width spout to handle,					
1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " " opening,					
3 $\frac{1}{8}$ " " bottom.					
EACH.		50	73	1 Cigarette Stand	
10 inches high,		51	74	1 " slightly damaged	
3 $\frac{7}{8}$ " across centre,		52	75	1 Cigarette Stand	
4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " " bottom.					

The above is a correct description of the Silver Ware contained in the case SS & GH, 104, to the best of our knowledge and belief.

(Signed) *W. P. WILLIS, RODWELL & Co.*

LONDON, 7th January, 1882.

R. S. GAMBLE.

F.

This is the Form of Receipt refused by the Customs (see D) :—

HER MAJESTY'S CUSTOM HOUSE,
THAMES STREET.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY to the Wardens of The Goldsmiths Company that the Duty of eighteen-pence per ounce has been paid upon the following goods, entered by
as Silver; to wit
Now lying at

Warehouse.

Article			
Weight		ounces,	wt.
Size			
Workmanship	}		
or Design			
Amount paid as per entry	£	„	„
(Signed)			

G.

The following is a letter addressed to Sir T. H. Farrer, of the Board of Trade, on the obstruction to trade in Silver Plate :—

21st April, 1882.

DEAR SIR,— . . . You will see by the Correspondence—paper marked D—that it is a calendar month to-day since the Hon. Commissioners of Customs indicted their second notice of the appeals to them of the 6th March. You have it now before you that the Commissioners sanction the proceedings of their departments, *in refusing* a free certificate on silver, on which duty is paid, so as to release it from the necessary claim by the Excise on presentation for stamping. When my father brought me down here (in Mincing Lane) in 1839, one of my first duties was to make out entries for the Custom House. Until the 2s 2½d duty was reduced in 1853, two-thirds of our money for tea was paid at the Custom House, so that we were somewhat acquainted; but, in all these forty-three years, I have never known, either at Thames Street or anything connected with the Revenue, or with Revenue Officials, anything so puerile, inexplicable, and utterly mischievous in its effects, as the present refusal of one branch of Revenue Collectors to refuse proof to another branch of Revenue Collectors, that the dues of the Crown have been properly paid into the former department. . . .

Your always obedient servant,

R. M. HOLBORN.

I.

The following is an extract from Mr. Gladstone's "Budget Speech," Monday, 24th April, 1882 :—

"First, I will mention a subject upon which no change has been introduced into the law, though I have been exceedingly desirous to introduce a change; that is the question of the duty upon silver plate. There are two reasons which would

recommend the abolition of the duty. The first is the very great anxiety entertained by the Indian Government that the duty should, if possible, be removed, they believing it to be a very serious hindrance to the introduction of silver goods from India, and that a large trade would probably take place if the duty were abolished. But a more general reason undoubtedly recommends the abolition of this duty, and that is, that this duty perplexes the market, and places transactions on new and old plate upon an embarrassed footing relatively to one another, and inflicts much greater mischief in the limitation of industry, and possibly tends to lower the standard of our manufacture of silver goods, while obstructing the progress of taste in design, than would at all correspond with any benefit derived from that source of revenue."

To this Mr. Holborn adds the following comment:—"In the above statement the right hon. gentleman has been betrayed into probably the most fallacious statement that he ever made in any of his great Budget achievements. It is *not* the 1s 6d per ounce duty which is the chief impediment to the introduction of the Indian silver, it is that the Customs, when they have got the duty, will neither stamp the silver nor give such a receipt as the Excise can recognize silver by, so that when the silver is presented at the Assay Office, the Excise require the duty over again. The most choice parcel ever imported, now here lying in bond in Bishopsgate, is about to be returned to India, solely because the Customs will not free the buyer when he has complied with the law (23 and 24 Vic., cap. 110, clause 1, section 17)."

J.

f

The following is a copy of a Memorial addressed to the Marquis of Hartington, M.P., then Secretary of State for India, by Mr. R. M. Holborn, under date 20th April, 1882:—

"MY LORD,—It is to be regretted that the Address presented to you on the above subject (the duty on Gold and Silver Plate) by five of the members of the Council of the East India Association, and published in *The Times* of Saturday, the 8th inst., should be of a very garbled and misleading character. It is at variance with the actual facts. It is in flat contradiction to the statements made in a Petition, and more particularly in a Memorial presented to the Honourable Commissioners of Her Majesty's Customs on the 6th March last (*see* Enclosures A and B). The said Memorial is in contradiction to the evidence published by the Council in February last (*vide Journal of the Association*, Vol. XIV). The Memorial copied into *The Times* states, 'But the expansion of these artistic industries in India is virtually prohibited by the heavy Customs duty.' The Memorial to the Hon. Commissioners of Customs, presented on the 6th March, states that 'purchasers are unable to operate solely in consequence of the present state of matters between the Customs and the Excise.' The Customs steadily refuse, again and again, on receipt of the duty, levied by the law, of 1s 6d per ounce, to give—(merely to sign)—such a practical receipt as shall relieve the Excise from claiming the duty a *second time* when the silver is presented for stamping. The facts now existing at the present moment are these:—Messrs. Forbes, Forbes & Co., the old and eminent East India house, have a consignment of very fine Indian silver ware, now lying in the Bonded Warehouses of the St. Katherine's Dock Company. This was offered in public sale by Messrs. Forbes' Brokers, Messrs. Lewis & Peat, and found no buyers, in consequence of the well-known obstruction by the Customs. The undersigned has

offered 8s per ounce, and the duty, 1s 6d, for a tentative portion of this silver, provided the Customs would sign a receipt of identity—ready drawn out—to enable the Excise to recognize it, for Stamping, as having already paid duty, and thereby relieve the Excise from the necessity of having again to re-charge the 1s 6d per ounce a second time. It will be seen—by Documents *A* and *B*—that Importers, Brokers, and Buyers have jointly petitioned the Commissioners of Customs to grant the full release of the silver upon the due payment of the duty. The Customs, in their reply, dated 21st March (Paper *D*), state, in effect, that they do not at present understand the law on the subject. On the 11th March the undersigned was sent for by the Surveyor to the Hon. Commissioners, and R. M. Holborn waited upon the Surveyor on Monday, the 13th March, and explained every point suggested by that officer; and, among other illustrations, produced the form of identity which the Departments of the Customs had refused to sign on the 5th January—(Document *E*)—on payment of duty on 337 ounces of silver ware by Messrs. Willis, Rodwell & Co. There is no more trouble to the Customs in identifying such items as silver with the documents prepared by the owner, than there is in identifying a chest of tea. Whether the confession of the Hon. Commissioners of H.M.'s Customs, that they have never been able either to comprehend or satisfactorily administer the 'points affecting the Law and Duty on Plate,' but 'that the matter is still under consideration' (see their reply, Paper *D*), will form an additional ground with the Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer to propose the removal of the duty altogether in his forthcoming Budget, is another question. The present state of things is this, that, though Indian silver work is so artistic as to be worth double the price of English work, Messrs. Forbes, Forbes & Co. state that they shall have to send the consignment, now lying in the Port of London, *back to India*, because the Customs and the Excise are unable to harmonize their mutual administration of the same law. All which is most humbly submitted by

"Your Lordship's obedient servant,

"R. M. HOLBORN.

"P.S.—It will doubtless not escape your Lordship's observation that the present standing offer of 8s per ounce for Indian silver now in bond, leaves the proportion of duty upon that figure at less than 13 per cent., instead of 33 per cent., as stated in the previous Memorial. Skilled labour in India being less than one-tenth part of the cost of artistic labour here, an elaboration of workmanship is produced in India which would not be undertaken here."

L.

The following is a copy of a second petition to the Customs' Commissioners, signed by R. M. Holborn and Louis Dee, and dated 18th May, 1882:—"To the Hon. Commissioners of Her Majesty's Customs.—The undersigned Buyers of Indian silver plate most respectfully petition the Hon. Commissioners:—1. That the Hon. Commissioners may please refer to the Petition and Memorial of the 6th March last, copies herewith enclosed (*vide A* and *B*); also to the *ad interim* reply to the same by the Hon. Commissioners, dated 21st March, copy enclosed and marked *D*. 2. That your Petitioners are desirous to purchase the Cutch Indian silver ware, per ship *Agra*, C. Kurrachee, entered by Messrs. Forbes, Forbes & Co., March, 1881, marked Sir C. F. & Co. and now lying in the charge of Her Majesty's Customs, in the Bonded

Warehouses of the London and St. Katherine Dock Company, New Street, Bishopsgate Street. 3. That the Petitioners and others are solely prevented from purchasing for want of such a release by the Customs on the receipt of Duty, as will enable the

Excise to recognize the various pieces as having paid the Duty required by Law, when the pieces of Silver are presented at any of the Assay Offices to receive the Government Stamp. 4. That without such Stamp it is unlawful for any Jeweller, Plateworker, or Silversmith, to "put to sale, exchange, or export," such Silver (5 Geo. IV, cap. 3, cl. 20; 7th and 8th Vic., cap. 22, cl. 5; and other Acts). 5. That Messrs. Forbes, Forbes & Co., the importers of the parcel of silver plate before named, state a second and third time, through their Brokers, Messrs. Lewis & Peat, in the letters dated 27th April and 2nd May, that they shall be compelled to return the silver to India unless the Customs will free it on once payment of the duty required by law. This alternative was laid before the Hon. Commissioners in the Memorial of the 6th March last, and copies of the subsequent communications of the former Petitioners, Messrs. Forbes, Forbes & Co., and Messrs. Lewis & Peat, all enclosed. 6. That the parcel of silver now in jeopardy of being returned to the makers in India, is probably the finest specimen or specimens of Indian workmanship ever sent to this country—and also it is expected the highest standard of quality—being from the Province of Cutch, one thousand miles south of Cashmere, from whence we have received the previous imports. 7. That the sole obstruction to the receipt of silver ware at the present moment, is the lack of facility between the two branches of executive, the Customs and the Excise, for which your petitioners herewith so earnestly pray. It is not the single duty, as supposed by the Rt. Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer (*vide I*), but because, until the Hon. Commissioners will please to grant a release, Indian silver ware is liable to double the burden supposed by Mr. Gladstone. 8. That no additional trouble whatever is proposed to be thrown upon the Officers of the Customs, as the specification would be prepared with the duty entry, and the silver would be more easily identified with the description than a chest of tea. Moreover, if it pleased the Hon. Commissioners so to require, the specification could be made in duplicate either in print or manuscript. 9. That the parcel of silver ware now in question has been viewed by the present Master Cutler of Sheffield, an extensive silver manufacturer, by Mr. E. J. Watherston, and other eminent silversmiths, and adjudged by them to be of the quality and exquisite workmanship described in this Petition, and that as such its return to India solely from the cause set forth in these Petitions to the Hon. Commissioners of Customs, would tend to raise some grave and serious questions between this country and our Indian Provinces. 10. That, if the Hon. Commissioners have any difficulty in granting the very simple prayer of these two Petitions and Memorial, they will be pleased to grant a personal interview with the undersigned, to facilitate any explanations."

M.

The following reply was received to the Memorial to the Secretary of State for India (*vide J*):—

INDIA OFFICE, 24th May, 1862.

SIR,—I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your Memorial of 20th April last, on the subject of the Duties on Indian Gold and Silver Plate, and to inform you that it has been forwarded for the consideration of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

LOUIS MALLET.

N.

These are letters from Messrs. Lewis & Peat, giving notice that the parcel of silver ware would be reshipped on the 26th June, 1882.

O.

The following Memorial on the Obstruction to Trade in Indian Silver Manufactures, was addressed by Mr. R. M. Holborn to the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., President of the Board of Trade, under date of the 21st April, 1882:—

SIR,—This humble prayer is submitted to you on behalf of the Importers, Brokers, and Buyers, in Great Britain, as well as on behalf of our fellow-subjects in India, engaged in the various branches of manufacture and trade in silver plate, to the end that you may be pleased to use your good offices with the Lords of the Treasury to induce them to relieve the said trade, and the parties engaged therein, from impediments hitherto imposed by the Customs Department. Silver plate cannot be legally sold in Great Britain as such, unless it is duly stamped by the Excise authorities at Goldsmith's Hall, or at the Assay Offices of Birmingham, Chester, Dublin, Edinburgh, Exeter, Newcastle, or Sheffield. When the importers or owners of Indian silver manufactures pay the duty of 1s 6d per ounce at the Custom House in London, the officials there refuse to give a complete and efficient receipt for the duty that has been paid, by signing a description of the goods, so that the Excise Authorities at any of the above offices may be able to identify the articles as having already had the duty paid upon them. The Excise, having no proof given by the Customs that the duty has been already paid, require the payment of the duty a second time before they will assay or stamp the silver to render it legally saleable. I beg to enclose copies of a Petition and Memorial presented to the Hon. Commissioners of Customs on the 6th March last, and of their reply thereto on the 21st March. Before the latter date, viz., on Saturday, the 11th March, I received a polite note from the Surveyor to the Commissioners. I waited upon that gentleman on Monday, the 13th March, answered every question, and submitted every particular and information, including the original form of identity, tendered by Messrs. Willis, Rodwell & Co. *along with the duty*, in January last, on 337½ ozs. of silver per *Camelot*, and which form of identity the officials at the Custom House in Thames Street refused to sign when they received the duty. Copies of this form of identity are enclosed. It appears, by the reply of the Commissioners on the 21st March, that this refusal of identity has the approval of the Commissioners, and that they still maintain this refusal, although the granting of this practical receipt for the tax could incur no possible risk to the Revenue nor trouble to the department, because, as regards the former, the receipt would of course be retained by the Excise when presented to them, and the document, like every other connected with payment of duty at the Custom House, would be prepared by the party paying the duty, and it would be more easy to identify a piece of artistic work than a chest of tea. That the personal relations of the Petitioner with Her Majesty's Customs are not of a trifling character may appear from the fact that for twenty-six years I have been senior in the firm of my forefathers, and that since the duty on tea has been reduced from 2s 2½ per lb. to 6d, the firm continues to pay into the Custom House from £66,003 to £70,000

per annum, or more than £200 per day. Yet I refrain from comment upon these proceedings of the Hon. Commissioners, beyond this, that when they reply (*vide D*) "the points affecting the law and duty on plate are under their consideration," the Hon. Commissioners have never yet determined the administration of the law, although in the Budget of last year the Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to retire the duty on silver. I therefore humbly and earnestly pray the exercise of your honourable protective offices on behalf of Trade with the Lords of the Treasury,

And remain,

Ever your obedient servant,

R. M. HOLBORN.

The following is the reply to the Memorial sent to the Secretary of State for India on Railways and other Public Works, on page 33 :—

P. W. 119.

INDIA OFFICE,
21st February, 1884.

SIR,

I am desired by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acknowledge receipt of a Memorial, signed by yourself on behalf of the East India Association, urging an early and active prosecution of Public Works in India, both in respect to railways and irrigation.

In reply, I am desired to say that Lord Kimberley fully recognizes the importance of the subjects to which you have drawn his attention. The remarks, however, contained in the Memorial of the Association show that considerable misapprehension exists in some important particulars. So far from their having been any decline in the prosecution of Public Works during the past year, I am to acquaint you that the estimated capital expenditure by the Government of India during the current year 1883-84, upon railways and irrigation (irrespective of outlay by guaranteed and other Railway Companies), is £5,753,800, while the outlay on the same description of works during the two previous financial years amounted to a total of £7,443,178.* Further, I am to point out that the number of miles of railway opened for traffic during any single year is no sufficient indication of the general rate of progress.

	Average number of miles of new Railway opened yearly.	
Three years ending 1873	.	307 miles.
Ditto 1874	.	383 "
Ditto 1875	.	383 "
Ditto 1876	.	379 "
Ditto 1877	.	365 "
Ditto 1878	.	564 "
Ditto 1879	.	553 "
Ditto 1880	.	662 "
Ditto 1881	.	560 "
Ditto 1882	.	551 "

The figures marginally noted will show the progress actually made up to the end of 1882, beyond which the facts are not available.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. K. CROSS.

* 1882-3, £3,495,700
1881-2, £3,947,478

£7,443,178

THE CHAIRMAN EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.



JOURNAL

OF THE

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,

Instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

INDIAN PAUPERISM, FREE TRADE, AND RAILWAYS.

PAPER BY MR. A. K. CONNELL, M.A.,

READ AT A MEETING OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,

ON TUESDAY, MARCH, 18, 1884.

GENERAL SIR ORFEUR CAVENAGH, K.C.S.I.,

IN THE CHAIR.

A MEETING of the members and friends of the East India Association was held in the Council Room, Exeter Hall, on Tuesday, March 18th, 1884, the subject for discussion being a paper read by Mr. A. K. Connell, M.A., on "Indian Pauperism, Free Trade, and Railways."

General Sir ORFEUR CAVENAGH, K.C.S.I., Chairman of the Council of the Association, occupied the chair, and amongst those present were the following:—Mr. J. R. Bullen-Smith, C.S.I.; Mr. William Tayler (late Commissioner of Patna); Major-General G. Burn; Colonel R. M. Macdonald; Lieut.-Colonel W. Jervis; Captain E. A. Campbell; Dr. G. W. Leitner; Dr. and Miss Waring; Dr. B. A. Whitelegge, M.D.; Dr. Yusoof Khan (Lahore); Rev. James Long; Rev. E. H. Nelson; Rev. F. H. Reschardt; Rev. T. Robinson; Rev. J. Crompton Sowerbutts; Rev. Dr. Wainwright; Mrs. J. H. Allen; Mr. C. W. Arathoon; Mr. George Bain; Mrs. Benett; Mr. B. Bosanquet; Miss Bradley; Mr. Dadabhoj Byromjee; Miss Carnegie; Mr. William Chapman; Mrs. A. K. Connell; Mrs. Cotton; Mr. J. S. Cotton; Mr. R. Ellis; Mr. J. G. Ferrand; Mrs. Fisher; Mr. J. G. Fitch; Miss Garstang; Mr. George Holden; Miss Rosamund Horsley; Mr. Edmund Kimber;

Mr. P. S. King; Mr. G. B. Longstaff; Mr. B. S. Mankar; Mr. A. B. Master; Mr. W. McGuffin; Mr. Robert G. Orr (Madras); Mr. H. F. D. Pennington; Miss Powles; Mr. Ardeshir Kavasjee Settna; Mr. John Shaw; Mr. Edward J. Watherston; Mr. Oswin Weynton (Assam); Mr. C. W. Wilkinson; Mr. W. Martin Wood; Mr. W. Hamilton Burn (Secretary).

In opening the proceedings the CHAIRMAN said:—Ladies and Gentlemen,—It may, perhaps, be a matter of some surprise that a paper is about to be read under the auspices of the East India Association which certainly enunciates views almost diametrically opposed to those that have been expressed by the Council in their recent letter to the Secretary of State, in which they strongly advocated the extension of lines of irrigation and of communication. But it must be remembered that we claim to advance no dogmatic opinions; we seek, as far as possible, to elicit a manifestation of public feeling in all affairs connected with India. Our motto has always been *Audi alteram partem*. Consequently, even although we may not concur in the ideas that may be evolved, we are always ready to submit for discussion any paper the writer of which is actuated, as I am sure is the case in the present instance, by an earnest desire to promote the object which we have in view—the advancement of the interests and the improvement of the condition of our native fellow subjects. There are simply three points to which I would call Mr. Connell's attention, and to which, perhaps, he may advert when the time comes for him to reply to any remarks that are made. One is the fact that railways, in every case, instead of depriving the poor of work, increase the openings for their employment. This was the case in our own country. I can remember the time when everyone said that horses and coachmen were to be driven out of the field by railways, and that there would be no work for them. Now, on the contrary, I believe there are more horses and more drivers employed than there ever were in the days of the old stage coaches. Next, there is the advantage to be gained by railways in a military point of view, by enabling a country to somewhat reduce its military force owing to its having the power of rapidly massing troops, when necessary, upon any threatened point, as well as in times of dearth and famine. I can remember, just before I entered the service in 1837, that there was one of the most severe famines that ever took place in India, in the North-West Province. The native cultivators had no stores of grain collected, although this was in the days before railways were even thought of. Whilst there was plenty of food to be found in Lower Bengal, owing to the want

of means of transport the Government were unable to relieve the distresses of their subjects in the famine districts, and hundreds and thousands of them died from utter starvation. The third point to which I would allude is the erroneous impression retained by many people that India, from being entirely under our control, is the only country that sends a contribution to England. Now, it happens that there are many countries, in no way under our rule, that make very heavy payments. I may mention Russia (which can hardly be looked upon as a country conquered by England), Austria, Italy,—every one of those countries pays yearly a very large subsidy, simply in liquidation of the interest due on sums that we have advanced; and this is really the case, in great part, as regards India; she is merely paying to us interest for money that we have expended on her account. I will now ask Mr. Connell to kindly read his paper.

Mr. A. K. CONNELL, M.A., then read the following paper:—

It is to be feared that, after the keen excitement caused by the Ilbert Bill controversy, the English public will sink into an abnormally stolid state of indifference to Indian affairs. And Parliament, which under the most favourable circumstances can hardly get a quorum together to listen to the annual survey of Indian finances, is only too certain, under the growing pressure of home and foreign questions, to give but scant attention to casual debates, even though they raise issues vitally affecting the welfare of 250 millions. And yet no one who has carefully followed the utterances of the native Press of India during the past year, when many secrets of the heart have been revealed, can have failed to see that the outcry excited by native agitators derived a large part of its significance from their ability to appeal to feelings, which are widely spread throughout our Indian Empire. Without the stimulus of the native papers these feelings might have for a long time remained inarticulate, but there can be no doubt that, as it is, native writings are gradually evoking a spirit of criticism which, whether we like it or not, constitutes a new force in Indian politics.

Anglo-Indian officials are naturally proving rather restive, while the sores of English Rule are being probed, and some would gladly see a Gagging-Act passed. But few would deny that it is highly desirable that the British Parliament, which ultimately controls the policy of the Indian Government, should know what educated natives have to say as to the principles on which India has been governed since the abolition of the East India Company. One of the gravest charges brought against that Company in the

debates of 1853 was that it had failed to give India all the appliances of Western civilization; and although this charge was less strongly urged in 1858, yet there can be no doubt that the desire of the mercantile world to open up the country was as powerful a factor in the final decision of Parliament, as the desire of statesmen like Sir George Lewis to abolish the dual control, and make Parliament directly responsible for Indian administration, and supreme over pro-consular annexationists. Anyhow, since 1858 the chief aim of English policy has been to develop India on the lines of Western civilization; and it is most important that we should look at the results of this policy not merely from the outside point of view of our own commercial interests, but from that of the natives themselves, whose daily lives are being touched to their very centre by the pressure of Western forces. Enlightened natives may be quite willing to recognize the magnitude of the striking material changes recently effected; but they are at the same time painfully conscious of the less obvious consequences of those changes, and they are very much inclined to dispute whether the moral welfare of India as a whole has been at all advanced by this enforced progression. To make one extract from the native Press. This is what an Anglo-Marathi* weekly writes *à propos* of agricultural banks:—"This vast and constant discontent, by making the backbone of our population constantly hateful of life, might incite them to some things of which we have already had but a faint foretaste in the Deccan and the Poona riots. Let the appearances of our so-called civilization be as glowing as possible, let our land be laid throughout with electric telegraph and railways, let our ports be crowded with shipping, yet so long as the majority of our people is groaning with poverty and distress, we are not only not civilized, but we are as it were standing on a mine, the more treacherous because covered with a screen of solidity." It is such outspoken language as this that ought to make us consider whether we are not forcing India to move at a pace, which may end in the deepest disaster. And this is especially the moment for a searching of heart, because very great pressure is now being put on the Indian Government and the India Office to further accelerate the pace. Manchester cotton-spinners, Liverpool ship-owners, London capitalists and Middlesborough iron-masters are vigorously urging the India Office authorities to stimulate the foreign trade of India by a more rapid construction of railways.

* I might quote similar sentiments from *The Voice of India's* résumé of native opinion.

This session a Committee of the House of Commons has been appointed to consider whether the resolution limiting the capital outlay on Productive Public Works in India to two and a half millions sterling a year is to be rescinded. And there is great danger that the self-interested clamours of some few powerful commercial classes in England will be allowed to drown the voices of the unrepresented millions of India. The history of that country since 1858 only too strongly illustrates the truth of J. S. Mill's warning in the petition presented to Parliament by the East India Company:—"It cannot be expected as a rule that a minister should himself know India, while he will be exposed to perpetual solicitations from individuals and bodies, either entirely ignorant of that country, or knowing only enough of it to impose on those who know still less, and having very frequently objects in view other than the interests or good government of India. The influence likely to be brought to bear on him through the organs of public opinion will, in the majority of cases, be equally misleading. The public opinion of England, itself necessarily unacquainted with Indian affairs, can only follow the promptings of those who take most pains to influence it, and those will generally be such as have some private interest to serve." Those who have studied most closely the treatment of Indian affairs by Parliament since 1858 are aware how completely Mill's prophecies have been fulfilled, and how very far from the truth is the recent assertion of Professor Seeley,* that "the very appearance of a selfish object in our administration of India is gone." The fact is that the essential conditions of our present method of administering Indian affairs are such that it is impossible for the most benevolent intentions to be realized. On the one hand, in India, there is an alien bureaucracy† which, however able, high-minded, and hard-working, is always tempted by the force of its own ideas and wishes to overlook the ideas and wants of the natives, to favour a showy rather than a useful policy, to identify its own obvious interests with the less obvious interests of the people committed to its charge, to foster the growth of the State revenues rather than that of private fortunes, and to regard the creation of a department as the salvation of an empire. On the other hand, in England is to be found a variety of powerful commercial classes, concentrated chiefly in Lancashire, naturally desirous of pushing their respective trades, using all their political interest to coerce Parliament,

* "The Expansion of England," pages 260 and 269.

† District officers, most appreciative of native wants and ways, are sure to be over-ruled by high officialdom, and yet it is *their* personal influence that it is the real safeguard of our Indian Empire.

and not over sensitive, so long as their objects are attained, as to the means which are to be employed.* Lastly, there is the Indian Council, composed of Anglo-Indian officials, who are supposed to be the pre-eminent protectors of the interests of India, but who in many cases are merely the staunch champions of their own hobbies, which behind the screen of a council-chamber, and without any check from public criticism, they are able to ride to death. It is under such conditions that the "Productive Public Works" scheme has been carried out, and an enormous foreign debt foisted upon India. Armed with military, political, and commercial arguments of unquestionable—because unquestioned—weight, Simla and Manchester, Calcutta and Liverpool have met and kissed each other, while the criticism of the Indian Council has taken the form of a battle over guarantees and gauges. The one point which ought to have been considered, and seems to have been but slightly considered, is the effect of the foreign debt on the pocket of the Indian taxpayer, and of railway construction on the welfare of "the dumb labouring masses." It is the condition-of-the-people-question that is now attracting the attention of the native Press, and it ill-becomes English statesmen to attempt to salve India's sores by hollow phrases, such as "the blessings of Free Trade," "the development of resources," "the boon of cheap British capital," and "the flourishing nature of the foreign trade," if the people of India declare that all the while a sword is being gradually thrust into their very bowels. Already the circulation and nervous system of a delicately adjusted social organism has been seriously damaged, and various remedies have been tried, while here and there are apparent unmistakable symptoms of death by inanition. The sword has been forged in England, but it is driven home by the Indian Government. It is the sword of the capitalist—the railways. Let us proceed to examine their financial and economic results.

* Mr. J. Slagg, M.P., has recently proposed the appointment of a Standing Committee of the House of Commons for Indian Affairs instead of the Indian Council. This appears to be an excellent suggestion. Parliament at present interferes spasmodically, without adequate information, and under the pressure of certain commercial interests, whereas it ought to exercise a continuous control, based on complete knowledge, and with an eye to India more than Lancashire. The renewal of the East India Company's Charter always led to a thorough inquiry.

The following figures are taken from Colonel Stanton's Report on Indian Railways for 1882-83:—

Class of Railway.	Capital.	Interest.	Net traffic receipts.	Gain or Loss to State.	Arrears of interest.	Miles open.
(a) Guaranteed .	£ 69,185,650	£ 3,275,280	£ 3,043,900	£ — 231,380	£ 28,086,400 [Surplus profits since 1880, 4,452,703]	4708
(b) East Indian .	37,354,248	1,706,900	2,598,050	+ 891,150		1506
(3) State . . .	31,378,108	1,226,636	1,050,450	— 176,186	4,623,786	3538
(c) Frontier . .	4,134,147 advanced from revenue.	—	Included in the above.	—	—	Included in above.
(d) Native States	2,995,733	About 120,000	Not given for all.	Not given.	Not given.	503
(6) "Protective"	About 400,000 advanced from Famine Insur- ance Fund.	—	Under con- struction.	—	—	—

(a) *i.e.* Madras, Great Indian Peninsula, Bombay, Baroda and Central India, Eastern Bengal, Sind, Punjab and Delhi, Oudh and Rohilkhand. Of these the Eastern Bengal pays 10·52 per cent., and the Great Indian Peninsula 7·29, and the Bombay, Baroda and Central India 5·91 per cent. on their borrowed capital, but not on capital advanced by the State in the shape of interest. Also free grants of land ought to be added to the capital.

(b) Purchased by the State in 1880. £27,623,386 will be redeemed in 1953.

(c) *i.e.* Punjab, Northern, Indus Valley, and Candahar.

(d) The Nizam's line does not nearly pay its way. The Indian Government has been urging its extension under a 6 per cent. guarantee.

It is obvious from the above figures that the official contention that Indian railways are now paying their way is very far from justifiable. In the first place the arrears of interest advanced by the State out of taxation now reach the sum of £32,710,186* and, if compound interest

* *i.e.* Guaranteed railway £28,086,400 ; State railways £4,623,786. The surplus

were charged since 1850, this sum would be largely increased. In the second place, since 1876-77 there has been a heavy "loss by exchange" on all the home remittances, and of these the payments to railway investors have made up about one-third. It will therefore be found on examination of the railway accounts that against the increased earnings of the railways during the last four years, there is a serious set-off of at least £1,000,000 a year, so that there is still an annual deficit of about £1,400,000 on the State and Guaranteed lines.

If we add over £4,000,000 to the arrears of interest, we arrive at the sum of £37,000,000 (without counting compound interest) as the total loss to the State, that is to the Indian taxpayer, since the beginning of railway construction, and this amount is year by year being steadily swollen in consequence of the continued depreciation of the rupee. These items of past interest charges, and loss by exchange, are persistently ignored by those who advocate the construction of more railways.* Or if they do recognize them, they maintain that

profits of East Indian Railway since 1880 are about equal to capital outlay on "frontier" and "protective" lines, the latter constructed out of the Famine Insurance Fund. The report of Mr. Goschen's Silver Committee showed that the whole question of "loss by exchange" is closely connected with the railway debt, which has so largely increased the home remittances. The railways are therefore responsible for the greater part, if not all, of the "loss by exchange," over £3,000,000 a year since 1879.

Mr. W. Fowler, M.P., in *The Nineteenth Century* of February, compares American and Indian Railways, but he ignores two great differences. (1) A large amount of railway capital has been "dropped" in America, whereas the Indian Government can never get rid of its bad ventures. (2) American companies recoup themselves from their blocks of land, and can therefore afford cheap rates. This is not possible in already settled Indian districts, and to unsettled districts the Indian ryot does not readily migrate. The migrations from the North-West Provinces to the Central Provinces, during the famine of 1877, took place *by road*.

* One of the new lines now being constructed is parallel to the River Gogra, in Oudh; and another, the South Mahratta line, is parallel to the West Coast. In both these cases, as in that of the Indus Valley line, the native carrier by river and sea will be undersold by protected railway competition. The part of India to which the arguments for railway construction seem most applicable is the Eastern part of the *Central Provinces*, where wheat is now quoted at five to six shillings a quarter. The three districts of Bilaspur, Raipur, and Sambhalpur have an area of 39,761 square miles. Of this about 10,000 are *uncultivated*, and about 13,253 are cultivated. The population, according to the last census, is 4,612,705, Sambhalpur being one of the most populous parts of the Central Provinces with from 113 to 198 persons to the square mile. About 85 per cent. of the cultivated area is under grain crops, rice, wheat and millet, and the average out-turn in rice varies from 461 to 660 lb. per acre, and in wheat from 300 to 400 lb. The present price of wheat after a good harvest gives us no criterion of the exportable surplus after the population is fed; but to speak, as Mr. Fowler does, of these districts as exporting in the future 10,000,000 quarters a year, is to talk sheer nonsense. No doubt there is room for reclamation and intenser cultivation, but the latter presupposes, under the *petite culture* system of India, a denser population which will require more food—an elementary fact of which it ought to be hardly necessary to remind a Member of Parliament who speaks of a teeming population. At present there is no doubt that the peasantry in these districts are

railways can be built more cheaply now, and that increased exports will "appreciate" the rupee. In reply to them it may be pointed out that the railways already built occupy the best trade routes, and, as far as the experience of the last four years goes, the increase of the export trade has not appreciated the rupee, the reason being, as we shall see later on, that the greater portion of the profits of the foreign trade are absorbed by English traders and the Indian Government, and hence the demand for silver remittances does not increase, as might be anticipated.

An analysis of the receipts of the railways shows that about two-thirds are derived from goods' traffic. Of this amount about half is made up of receipts from rice, wheat, seeds, cotton (raw and manufactured) and coal. The rest is yielded by salt, tea, coffee, hides, indigo, sugar, metals, opium, and a large number of smaller articles of trade. The passenger traffic, much stimulated, where possible, by the growing monotony of rural life, yields about four and a half millions sterling a year, the natives paying from three and a half to three and three-quarter millions, and Europeans the rest. Of the earnings of the railways, half is remitted to England in the shape of interest; and of the working expenses, a large portion is paid to English *employés*, and to English iron-masters, miners, and carriage makers. The wage-fund created by the capital outlay has been considerably less than might be supposed. For out of the capital

most prosperous. They make their own clothes, they grow their own food; they have good pasture for their cattle, cheap fuel, and forests to attract rain. A railway will destroy the home weaving, absorb the profits of the carriers, cut down the forests, inflate wages and then depress them, and finally raise the land-tax. In twenty years' time there will most probably be a famine. Why not open up the district with good roads, foster technical and elementary schools, and let the people develop in their own way? The only answer is that Liverpool wants freights, Manchester more cotton-markets, and capitalists and iron-masters say capital and iron are cheap. The first question is, will the railway pay its interest, or is India to be taxed to make up the deficit? I expect the latter will be the case, in spite of the glowing estimates of engineers, and Mr. Fowler's "M.P., largely interested in Indian commerce." And, if it is decided to construct this line, and another North and South through Chota Nagpore, there appears to be no reason why the former should join the East Indian Railway and benefit Calcutta instead of going straight to the sea coast in the direction of Cuttack. Another proposed line is to run through Jhansi and Bhopal, and will probably, if it pays, lessen the profits of the Rajputana and East Indian lines. A third is to open up Assam for the benefit of the tea growers and supersede the natural highway, the Brahmaputra, sufficient for all practical purposes. All these railways are of course estimated by the engineers as certain to pay, but the estimates are obviously "in the air," as the Mogul Serai and Chandil line. It is all very well for the Bombay and Calcutta Chambers of Commerce to recommend the expenditure of £20,000,000 a year during the next ten years. They will of course get more trade, and if the lines fail, and "loss by exchange" increases, the burden will be borne, not by them, but the Indian peasantry, who never asked for the lines.

spent since 1850, £49,070,981 for guaranteed lines and £8,156,325 for State lines have been spent in England; while against the capital sum of over £66,000,000 spent in India, there has to be set the home remittances for interest, amounting to £92,000,000 for guaranteed lines and over £8,000,000 for State lines, say £100,000,000 in thirty years, not counting half the surplus profits or four and a half millions sterling. Thus about seven or eight years ago the drain on India due to railways began (the greater portion of the capital being spent), and "loss by exchange followed," home debts having been up to that time paid by the capital placed at the disposal of the India Office.

In considering the economic consequences of railway construction for India as a whole, it is necessary to give a short description of the natural resources of the country and of their distribution before the last quarter of a century.

India, it must never be forgotten, is a vast continent, as large as the whole of Europe *minus* Russia, and containing almost every variety of agricultural product, but deficient, except in the more central parts, of mineral wealth. Along the river valleys the soil is of remarkable fertility, and the best land produces either two crops in one year or three in two years. The chief food of the people is, for the poorer classes, coarse rice, millet, barley, and gram; for the richer, fine rice and wheat.* Cotton is grown all over India, and wool of varying degrees of fineness can be got from the peasantry's different flocks and herds, while the brilliant dyes, for which the country has long been noted, are supplied by indigo and other plants.

The only other necessary required for the support of human life is salt. In India this is supplied in three different ways. There are first the salt lakes and mines of the Punjab and Rajputana, then the salt-pans on the Bombay, Madras, and Bengal coasts; and lastly, in various parts of the interior of Madras, in Mysore, Berar, the North-West Provinces, Oudh, and Behar, there are saliferous earths from which salt of various degrees of purity can be easily scraped

* Mr. Fowler says "the consumption of wheat in India is not large." It is true that the poorest labourers do not, as a rule, eat wheat, but in wheat-growing districts the great mass of the cultivators, if not the labourers, eat it. Of the six and a half million tons grown, five and a half million are eaten or stored in India (equalling a year's support of over twenty-two million people.) Wheat in the Punjab is taking the place of barley and gram, the food of the poorest. 349,000 persons died in the famine of 1877. The Indus Valley Railway, which is a charge on the taxpayer of about £400,000 a year, is, according to the latest Administrative Report, throwing out of work the boat-carriers and weavers. Is this Free Trade? Mr. Cross in his Budget speech ignored the loss on "State" lines.

PAUPERISM, FREE TRADE, AND RAILWAYS.

together.* Fuel is to be got from the jungle or from dung. It may therefore be said that each part of India is, or can be, practically self-sufficient for all the necessities of human and animal existence; while the small luxuries consumed in the shape of sugar, opium, and tobacco, if not to be found everywhere, can be easily imported in boats and carts, or on pack-bullocks, ponies, and camels. But there is one serious set-off against this general picture of material plenty, and that is the liability of the country to suffer from drought. Against this calamity the cultivator, when unable to get a permanent water-supply from wells,† tanks, canals, or rivers, has provided from time immemorial by the storage‡ of grain in air-tight pits or earthenware jars. If war or taxation, levied in excess, or at times of distress, has depleted these stores, then the worst horrors of famine have swept over the land; but, failing these extra drains, it will

* In the North-West Provinces since 1843, in Oudh since 1857, and in Bengal since 1860, the manufacture of salt has been entirely prohibited by the Government, as it is found easier to protect the salt-revenue by an import duty than by an excise. There are also restrictions on salt manufacture in Bombay and Madras. Bengal, and part of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, are now supplied by Cheshire salt. A maund (82 lb.) of salt can be produced on the Bombay, Madras and Orissa sea-shore for about one penny to three-halfpence. The salt-tax is now two rupees a maund, and the Government gets a further revenue from the carriage of salt by the State railways. Sir Evelyn Baring was so impressed with the necessity of using local supplies of salt for animal consumption, that before leaving India he offered a prize to the inventor of any process "by which salt . . . is so unfit for human consumption that its restoration to an edible condition would be neither easy nor cheap, while it would still remain suitable for use for cattle." The Salt Commissioners' Report of 1856 proves that there are many saliferous districts in the interior, which before the passing of strict salt-laws used to be worked. I see no reason to believe that salt is now cheaper for the mass of the population than it was forty years ago, except in parts of Bengal, where the East India Company's salt monopoly and high tax of three rupees a maund kept prices high. From the figures of the above Report, it is clear that in the Punjab, North-West Provinces, Oudh, Bombay, and Madras, salt was cheaper up country in the days of bullock transport than it is now. When the salt-tax was raised forty years ago, transit duties were abolished, but they fell chiefly on luxuries. By the suppression of salt manufacture in Bengal and its restriction in Madras, Cheshire salt-makers have largely benefited. It seems impossible to believe that the cost price of Madras if not of Bengal salt would not be less than that of foreign. But then Liverpool shipowners want an outward freight. Is it not possible to levy an excise on all Indian salt-manufactures, either on the coast or in the interior?

† I have gone into the whole question elsewhere (see "Economic Revolution of India"). The village . . . of old days to watch over the outlying woodland, which supplied fuel and absorbed moisture, but their authority has been suspended too much by the Forest Department.

‡ In the House of Commons, August 23, 1860, Mr. Stansfeld spoke of the surplus of a good crop being often . . . eaten by the weevil-worm. I believe that further inquiry would . . . except under very special conditions, only occurs when the population is down with fever, and that the weevil attacks the grain-stores not in pits but in railway sheds.

generally be found* that the Indian peasantry has been able to tide over a period of scarcity without any very great suffering. The spirit of charity, deeply engrained in the native heart, has held the village society together, so that even the landless classes—with the exception perhaps of the very lowest outcasts—have been kept alive by their richer neighbours.

Side by side with the agricultural pursuits, which have always formed the chief phase of Indian existence, there have been various industrial occupations. The potter, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the tanner, and the weaver have each plied their trade and received their share of the agricultural produce, while at the large local centres, where the native nobles have resided, the higher skill of the architect, the jeweller, the enameller, the brass worker, and the like, has always received enlightened patronage. Under the old state of things, the surplus members of the agricultural class either had to reclaim more land by the aid of the local capitalist, himself generally a leading landowner, or they were enrolled among the retainers and soldiers of the local court, or they went farther afield in search of fresh work.† Thus, though war, or disease, or scarcity, or rapacity, might from time to time thin the ranks of the villagers, yet the village organism under the guidance of its chief man or men, was

* Dr. Hunter, in his "England's Work in India," p. 21, says that the last famine cycle was not so destructive of human life as that of 1770. But he forgets to mention that the frightful sufferings of the last century were largely due to the rapacity of the East Indian Company's servants, as was proved by Burke. Similarly in 1783 the rack-renting of the Oudh provinces, caused by Warren Hastings' exactions from the Nawab, turned a famine into severe famine. These were not the results of native rule or mis-rule *pure et simple*. For native charity, and grain-storage, see Famine Commissioners' Report.

† Where joint property in land existed, it seems to have acted as a check on over-crowding, but the growth of individual rights, forced on by pressure on the land, destroys this check. Also on poorer soils the payment of rent in kind encouraged fallow land. See Sir J. Caird's "India: its Land and People". There is no evidence that under native rule there was anything like the wholesale loss of life of recent famines, when over five million persons died, though there were, of course, ever-working physical checks. Against the rapacity of native rulers there always is the check of rebellion and strike of ryots; but if that rapacity is caused, as in the case of Oudh before annexation, by the forced subsidies of the Indian Government, which at the same time lends troops to stop rebellion, then matters must get worse and worse.

The Report of the Education Commission shows how very generally technical and elementary education flourished under native rule, and how much it has suffered during the last half century. The funds required for the support of village and bazaar schools have been absorbed by departments. Elementary education under the supervision of the local Boards, combined with the cheap justice of local Courts for petty disputes instead of the present costly system, would be a strong means of protection to the ryot against any rack-renting landlord or rapacious money-lender, and might dispense with Rent Acts and Relief Bills, especially if the corporate rights of the villagers in the land were maintained as a

ever ready to renew its life with vigour. The land-tax, paid partly in cash and partly in kind, and levied by the rajah or zemindar or local representative of any central power which from time to time grew up, might be heavy in years of plenty, but in years of scarcity it was remitted or suspended, being carefully adjusted to the state of the crops; and the only other taxes were a few bazaar taxes and transit* duties which chiefly affected the consumers of luxuries. Although in old days the roads were not of the Roman type, yet during the dry weather they were not inadequate† to the slow inland trade which went on throughout India, and most of the richer parts of the country, where sugar, opium, and cotton could be grown, were naturally supplied with river communications. Pilgrimages seem always to have been popular. And those who had money to spend, and did not find sufficient recreation in the various village feasts and festivals, or at the native courts, might go to the larger centres of trade, government, and religion.

Such, with intervals of wild anarchy which kept up a martial spirit, had been for centuries‡ the economic life of the immense population of India, divided into all its different trades, castes, and local centres, up to the time when it was thought necessary to open up the country to foreign trade. It is very instructive to read

safeguard against the greed of wealthy individuals. In England we are only just beginning to realize the great loss entailed on villagers by the enclosure of commons, due to the non-substitution of village record of rights for the self-working service-system of the Middle Ages. In Switzerland the enormous value of the *Allmends* has been demonstrated by M. Laveleye. The *communalisation*, not the *nationalisation*, of land appears to be essential to the life of peasant proprietors.

* The Indian Government has for the last forty years set its face against transit duties as violating the principle of Free Trade, but they were not onerous to the mass of the people. The enhancement of the salt-tax which has accompanied their abolition is a much heavier burden. Lately all octroi duties have been threatened, as tending to become transit duties. But the life of municipalities is financially bound up with them, as direct taxation is highly unpopular. If Native States are urged to substitute direct taxation, great discontent will be caused. Sir Lepel Griffin, who has recently "shown up" Holkar's transit-duties on Manchester goods, seems utterly oblivious of this aspect of the question. Native States were recently forced to raise their salt-tax. The increasing pressure put upon them to adopt the latest inventions of British rule is . . . away all their vitality. Having made them like British provinces . . . defects in the latter by pointing to their existence in the former.

† The improvement of road and river communications, also of harbours, by the Government of the time being has always been highly appreciated by the natives. Of late years the smaller ports, e.g., Surat, have been sacrificed to the larger, i.e., Bombay, Calcutta, and Kurrachee, the three railway ports. Orissa, according to Dr. Hunter, had an excellent harbour at the beginning of this century, but in the famine of 1866 it was found impossible for the province to get food during the monsoon. A tenth part of the outlay on railways might have equipped India with all it required for its trade, internal and external alike.

‡ See "Alt-Indisches Leben," by Zimmer (Berlin, 1879), for a description of Hindu life. Also "India," by J. S. Cotton (Macmillan & Co.).

the evidence given before the Parliamentary Committee of 1813 at the time, when the commercial world made its first attack on the East India Company's monopoly. It was pointed out by all the witnesses that India was a country that could supply itself with all it required; indeed, that so far from requiring English manufactures, it was able to compete with Manchester and Paisley* in the English market, if fairly dealt with. So impressed were the Lancashire merchants with this fact, that after 1813, when the East India Company's monopoly of trade with India was abolished, they forced the English Parliament to retain the heavy import duty on Indian goods, while the Indian Government had to admit Manchester goods almost duty free. But even this piece of high-handed injustice did not enable Manchester to compete with the native weaver up country. It is only during the last thirty years that the latter has been beaten in his own market, and that not by Free Trade, as some suppose, but by the bounty system applied to the construction of railways.

We have seen above what amount of taxation has been entailed on India by the railways, and an examination of the trade statistics of India during the last half century is sufficient to show that it is the railways† that have to a great extent destroyed the home-weaving

* "It was stated in evidence that the cotton and silk goods of India up to this period (1813) could be sold for a profit in the English market at a price from 50 to 60 per cent. lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 and 80 per cent. in their value, or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, the mills of Manchester and Paisley would have been stopped at the onset, and could scarcely have been set in motion even by the power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufacturers. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated. This act of self-defence was not permitted her. British goods were forced on her without paying any duty, and the foreign manufacturers employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms."—*Mill's History of India*, vol. vii.

† It was the keen desire of Manchester to get hold of the cotton markets in the interior that in 1853 increased the outcry for Indian railways. All that is now urged about the wheat trade was then urged about the cotton trade. In 1857 the export of cotton (raw) was only £1,437,949, in 1862 it rose to over £10,000,000, and during the American War to over £35,000,000. It is now about £14,000,000. The sudden inflation did no real good to the natives, especially as in Bombay the land-tax was assessed higher. In the Central Provinces the decay of fine weaving dates from this period. The fairest form of taxation in India would be to put a 5 per cent. import duty on English cotton goods, and an excise on Indian mills, so as in some degree to protect the home weaver, hitherto unprotected. Then the salt-tax could be lowered, and the rich would be taxed. Unfortunately the Indian Government is itself interested in stimulating the railway traffic. In spite of the most careful supervision it has been found utterly impossible to assess fairly the license-tax; the rich evade it by bribes to the underpaid native officers, and the poor have the whole burden to bear; district officers' time is taken up, and the yield bears no relation to the trouble and cost of collection. The repeal of the 5 per cent. import on finer cotton goods was a crying injustice to India, whatever Secretaries of State, Conservative or Liberal, may assert to the contrary. An income-tax is fairer than a license-tax.

of Indian villages. Not only is the cotton bought up in large quantities when prices are low at harvest-time, but English goods, the transport of which is in part paid for by taxation, are able to get to the up-country markets. Forty years ago the cotton (manufactured) imports amounted to only £1,500,000 in value, and in 1850 they were about treble that amount; but in 1861, when about 1000 miles of railway were built, they rose to over £9,000,000, and now, when 10,000 miles have been built, they are valued at £22,000,000.

Under the pressure of Western competition the native weavers are year by year deprived of a larger part of their trade in finer goods; and as the profits of the coarser goods, which they still weave, are not sufficient to keep them, they are obliged to eke out their living by work on the land. But this is only possible in those parts of India where there is still a deficiency of agricultural labour, or room for further reclamation. Where population is as dense* as it is in long-settled districts—viz., 500 to the square mile—there is nothing for the weavers to do but to starve.

In consequence of this change, all the varied intelligence and enterprise, which was called forth by the industrial skill for which India was famous, is being superseded by the dull uniformity of agricultural life, and not all the Exhibitions and Museums in the world are able to aid India to fight against the onset of the economic forces which have been recklessly let loose on her. It is all very well for Lancashire politicians to boast of the cheaper clothes that England now sends to India; they forget all the taxation that is hidden behind the term "cheaper transport," and they also forget the fact that in years of scarcity it is the native weavers† who have to be supported by charity or on relief works. The best fate that we can hope awaits

* The question of the rate of increase of Indian population is a very difficult one. During the last fifty years large tracts of land have been everywhere reclaimed, and would probably have been in part reclaimed, except perhaps on the Northern frontier, under any government. On fresh land cultivation and population increase together, but in long-settled districts where arts and industries have decayed the population presses too much on the soil, and the waste land, wanted for grazing and fuel, is too small. Madras has suffered greatly from the destruction of its ancient manufactures (*see* Sir G. Birdwood's "Industrial Arts of India"). Many of the poorer agricultural classes combine some handicraft or carriers' work with work on the land; and if foreign competition, unfairly brought into play, takes away one part of their wage, the rural economy is destroyed. If the labourers are underfed or die off, the land suffers from want of labour. There is no doubt that the loss of the carrying trade starves men and beasts alike. Agricultural operations only occupy about two-thirds of the year; the other third should be spent in subsidiary work.

† It is needless to remark that the export of dyes has accompanied that of cotton. "There is no class which our rule has pressed harder upon than the native weaver and artizan."—Sir James Caird's "India; the Land and People," p. 154. The last famine cost over £15,000,000.

them is to be carried off quickly by fever or famine, so that their miseries may be lessened.

But it is not only the weavers proper that have been hard hit by "improved communications." All the landless classes, and especially the agricultural labourers, even if the latter are still able to get work during a part of the year, find the struggle for existence growing harder year by year as the exports of food increase. Ten years ago the export of rice only reached the value of £4,499,161, and that of wheat the value of £235,645, but in 1882, rice amounted to $8\frac{1}{2}$, and wheat to $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling. A large portion of the increased rice exports is due to the spread of cultivation in Burmah, and is a sign of the growing prosperity of that sparsely-populated Province, but a large portion of the wheat and part of the rice comes from those districts of India, where there are said, by Dr. Hunter, to be "forty millions of people passing through life on insufficient food." The reason why, under such circumstances, food leaves the country, is that at harvest time, when taxes and rents have to be paid, the markets get glutted, prices fall—though still remaining high for the landless man—and the exporter is able, by the help of the railway, to hurry off the crops out of the country. The landless classes, who only live from hand to mouth, are powerless to hold their own against the capitalist with his quick-working apparatus, and they have therefore to submit to semi-starvation. Nor do the landowners and cultivators get that profit from the grain-trade which might be supposed. Prices have no doubt risen considerably, if they have not doubled during the last thirty years, but local cesses have also been imposed on the agriculturist and in many districts the land-tax proper, especially on the poorer soils, has been considerably raised by re-assessment. Moreover, it is often forgotten that the rise of prices does not raise the value of that part of a crop which the cultivator retains for consumption, but only that part of it which he sells. And the more the land is crowded owing to the loss of industrial occupations, and farms get lessened in size, the larger is that portion of the out-turn of each farm which is required for home-consumption. If we take this fact in consideration, we shall see strong reasons for thinking that, so far from the agriculturist, except in the less densely populated or very fertile parts, getting much profit for the sale of his grain crops, the cost of cultivation, including rent and land-tax, is barely covered by the price realized at harvest time. Let us analyze the figures of the wheat-trade.

In the last Indian financial statement, Sir Evelyn Baring tells us that "this trade may, for all practical purposes, be said to date from the year 1873, when the export duty was removed. In 1881-82, nearly a

“million tons were exported. The great strides made in this trade during the last few years, are, to a great extent, due to railway extensions in India, and, so far as the great exports of 1881-2 are concerned, to deficient crops in the United States.” As to the area under wheat, we are told that “we shall probably not be far wrong, if we take twenty-one millions as the total present acreage. The great wheat-fields are in the Punjaub, the North-West Provinces, Oude, and the Central Provinces. Bombay, Berar, and Bengal also grow wheat extensively though in smaller quantity.” The average out-turn is estimated at about 700 lb. to the acre, as against 1500 lb. for English, and 850 lb. per American acre. “At this rate of yield, the total out-turn would be $6\frac{1}{2}$ million tons, of which it may roughly be said that about one million tons are available for export.” As regards the possibility, asserted by some authorities, of doubling the amount available for export, Sir Evelyn Baring confesses his inability to give any opinion, which is more than conjecture. But it may be pointed out that any estimates, based on an increased yield per acre of land already cultivated, or on the large amount of land still to be brought under cultivation, are apt to be very misleading. The truth is that all the best land in India already produces either two crops in the year or three crops in two years, and the out-turn of wheat*—a cold weather crop—cannot therefore come up to the average out-turn of English or American farms, and there is reason to fear that for well-irrigated, but badly-manured soil, wheat will before long prove to be too exhaustive a crop to be grown without intermission. Further, the system of *petite culture*, which is universally adopted in India (the farms varying from three to five acres in the densely-populated, to twenty acres in the sparsely-populated districts) cannot yield the same exportable surplus as the system of *grande culture* on farms of eighty acres and upwards, worked to a great extent by labour-saving machinery. If America were as crowded as India is, there would be little wheat to export. How, then, it may be asked, has the Indian wheat trade recently reached such large dimensions? The answer is not far to seek. Railways, increased home remittances, and taxation working together have given it an artificial and undesirable stimulus. To

* Sir J. Caird speaks of the possibility of getting more out of the less fertile soils, but that depends on wells and a larger supply of manure, and that on better cattle, and that on more fodder (and salt) for the cattle, and that on a lighter land-tax on inferior land, and less pressure of population on the soil, and generally the accumulation of capital in the country. It is difficult to say what amount of land bears two crops, as it varies from year to year. A double crop is more common in the best parts of the North-western Provinces, Oudh, and Bengal than in the Punjab. Land assessments, when putting a tax on fallow and pasture, undesirably stimulate reclamation. The culture in parts of India is said to be falling off.

explain. The total value of wheat exports amounted in 1881-82, a most flourishing year, to $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling. Of this sum about one-third, say £2,800,000, represents the railway, &c., charges* for carriage, over distances varying from 400 to 1000 miles. The value of the wheat up country is therefore about £5,700,000 for nearly 20,000,000 cwt., but of this the cultivator at harvest time receives less than £4,500,000 on (at about 50 lb. for one rupee). The total amount grown, is estimated at 130,000,000 cwt. on an area of 21 million acres. If we divide the area into 10-acre † farms, each with a family of five to support, 25,770,000 cwt. will be required for half a year's food, at an average yearly consumption of 550 lb. a head—a distinctly small allowance. There will remain about 104,230,000 cwt. to sell at about four shillings and sixpence per cwt., a fair harvest price. The cost of production, including rent, of the whole crop (see official correspondence in *The Times of India*, October 19th) is rather more than two-thirds (deducting cartage) of the value of the whole crop, or about £21,900,000. Deducting this sum from the value of the saleable surplus (£23,450,000) there remains £1,550,000. Clothes, at one rupee a head for half a year, will cost over £1,000,000, and salt £160,000. There remains therefore £400,000, or less than one shilling a head.

But we have yet to provide another half-year's food, salt, and clothes. There are three possible solutions to the problem. (1) each farm may yield much more ‡ wheat than is estimated, or it may

* A quarter of wheat costs about 14s to produce (at 14 annas for a bushel of 60 lb.), the price at the railway station being about 19s (or 20s), and the carriage, by cart, being on an average 3s. The margin of possible profit to the grower is, therefore, very small. Railway charges, &c., for 600 to 700 miles are 7s to 8s, and freight, &c. to England about 12s. Hence it is obvious that a large part of the profits go to Englishmen. It would be better for India, as a whole, to have a larger supply for home consumption. The exporter profits by "the exchange."

† I have somewhat overrated the average size of farms, which is nearer seven acres a family than ten, and a family is very often larger than five persons, as, where there is no poor-relief system, aged relatives have to be supported. If there are no stores of grain, the State has to relieve them in time of famine. The Famine Insurance Fund is the beginning of the English poor-law principle, and its usually demoralizing consequences will no doubt ensue. Sir J. Caird speaks of its light incidence per head. But why produce the conditions that force its introduction? Irish relief-works should be a warning to us. The remedy of emigration is not likely to be applicable for years to come in India, though popular education might increase the mobility of the people.

‡ If we raise the total out-turn, still more if we assume the existence of a second crop, we must pre-suppose some further outlay, though not equal to that already estimated. The cheaper grains are reared less carefully, and a small area of valuable crops can be worked by the cultivator and family. In the above estimates, which are necessarily somewhat tentative, I have allowed for storage. On a ten-acre farm in the Punjab, I think the way in which the farmer's lives is as follows:—Nine acres yield food crop of some sort, say three wheat, three barley and gram, and three coarse grain. Put the average total out-turn at 8100 lb. The culti-

yield a second coarse grain crop, (2) a part of it may yield a valuable non-grain crop such as sugar, linseed, opium, vegetables, indigo and the like, (3) the cultivator's family may be half-starved. Whichever alternative we accept—and each is, I believe, applicable to different districts—it is clear that there cannot be any room for a large increase in the export of wheat, without seriously trenching on the food supply of the country. Wheat may, as recently in the Punjab, take the place of barley and gram, the food of the poorest classes, but this does not mean a larger out-turn in proportion to the whole population but a diversion of food, by the help of the railways, themselves entailing taxation on the well-to-do, from the mouths of the natives to those of foreigners. As it is, the wages received by the landless classes are said in the case of tens of thousands, nay even millions, to be insufficient to supply more than half rations all through the year. It is perfectly absurd for English politicians, like Mr. Fowler, to compare India with America. In India the people are already there, in America you want to bring people to the land. Where population, as in many parts of India, is as dense * as 500 to the square mile, while in America it is only 35 per square mile, even in the thirteen original States, it is obvious that all arguments drawn from such a comparison are as worthless as analogies applied to our earth by the man in the moon.

The above considerations prove conclusively to my mind that the wheat which comes into the market is that part of the total out-turn which has to be sold to pay rent and taxes, and buy clothes, and, if there were no railways and no large home-remittances† to be paid, it would remain on the spot, and be there exchanged for services, or stored against a year of famine. Rents and land tax might be lower,

vator and family take at least 2700 lb., the labourer will get in cash or kind another 1000 lb. This is about the yield of four acres. Clothes and salt-tax will be paid by one acre of wheat. The other four will have to provide bullocks' fodder, seed, plough, wells, stores, village fees, &c. The one acre of valuable crop will pay rent and rates.

* It is always found in India that density of population, up to three acres a family, adds to the fertility of the soil, as dung and night-soil are more carefully utilized, but the denser population necessarily consumes more food, and as the jungle is cleared, the cattle require a larger proportion of the coarser grains, and the ashes of the dung burnt as fuel are not quite as good for the soil as the dung itself. The cattle certainly deteriorate from want of pasture.

† The home remittances by Government now amount to over £20,000,000 a year—there are besides the private remittances—and as they are really paid in kind, the Government of India is directly interested in stimulating the export trade so as to appreciate the rupee. Hence its policy is not to give to those of the landless classes, who wish to keep the food to eat. When the Government spent more on railways and paid its home debts out of capital, there was not the same necessity for large exports of wheat; there was more effective demand for food. Sir C. Gavan Duffy has recently pointed out that during the Irish famine of 1846, large supplies

and would, as well as wages, be perhaps more extensively paid in kind, the landless classes would find the price of food lower, and the carrying trade would be conducted by the natives, while the weavers would be able to work up the cotton into clothes. The latter might be slightly more expensive, though more durable, but pauperism would be diminished, and civilization more varied. And, if good roads were made, the surplus agricultural population would be able to move off to less crowded districts. As it is, railways carry off the crops, but leave the mass of the people behind, and even in time of famine it is by *road* and not by *rail* that the migration of men and beasts takes place.

To sum up the chief economic results of railways in India, it may be said that they have accelerated the destruction of some of its most famous industries, and have thereby thrown upon the already crowded soil tens of thousands of weavers, who used to augment the agricultural capital; they have at the same time considerably raised the price of food by bringing the capitalist face to face with the Indian landless labourers, and though they have, during the period of their construction, led for a short time to the formation of a fresh wage-fund, yet, when completed, they have left the wage-earners the victims of higher prices in a glutted labour market.* And these great economic changes have brought with them great social and moral changes, which are superficially regarded as the signs of advancing civilization, but which, when viewed from within, are seen to carry with them the seeds of decay, if not disaster. For under the pressure of irresistible forces the one form of organization which had for centuries remained stable amid the shocks of chance is beginning to dissolve. Unlimited competition is tearing out with its ruthless talons the very heart of co-operative village life; and the Indian Government has in vain attempted to stop its action by the aid of rent-laws. This is what the Famine Commissioners write:—"From all quarters it is reported that the relations between the landlord and the tenant with occupancy-rights are not in a satisfactory state, and are becoming yearly more and more hostile;

of wheat—the potato crop alone failed—were leaving the country to pay the rents of absentee landlords. The same occurs in India, as it has to pay a large part of its home debts in grain.

* Supposing in the next ten years £40,000,000 were spent in opening up some Indian districts by railways, though the labourers might for ten years receive more wages, at the end they would find a suddenly lessened wage-fund and doubled prices, while hand-loom weaving would perish. Then in a year of scarcity gigantic relief works would be started, and the landowners would have the land-tax squeezed out of them as a poor rate. Who would eventually gain? Obviously the English investor by his guaranteed interest and the Indian Government by its enhanced land-tax, the producer losing by taxation what he gains by higher prices.

“so much so that a landlord will generally refuse any aid to his “occupancy tenants when they are in difficulties, and will do all “that he can to ruin them and drive them from the land.” In short, the village land system is getting undermined from two sides, from above as well as from below. The smaller gentry, whose superfluous members used in old days to find occupation as soldiers, retainers and officials, and send remittances home, are now obliged, with growing numbers, to live on the rents of their lands, and even to cultivate them themselves, thereby making the demand for land still more keen. While the bigger land-owners, finding themselves deprived of administrative work, have a tendency to live useless lives away from the tenantry in the larger towns, and, like absentees* all the world over, are, especially where the land-tax presses heavily, becoming rack-renters, and so forcing the tenants into debt. And lastly, the soil which is the scene of an ever intenser struggle for existence, at times actually breaking out into civil war, is itself at the mercy of the Supreme Government, which by its land-tax, assessed about every thirty years, where there is no permanent settlement, and by local cesses imposed from time to time on permanently and temporarily settled districts alike, practically enjoys an all-embracing monopoly in land, and fixes the reward of labour. As supreme landlord it commands the source of all wealth, and as the regulator of the chief carrying trade of the country it controls its distribution. It may be asserted without fear of contradiction that no Government, since history began, ever held such awful powers of life and death Parliament by its abolition of the cotton duties boasts of having given India complete Free Trade. Free Trade, indeed ! when India is bound hand and foot and delivered over to the Indian Government and the English capitalist to do with it what they list. At no period, since we have any record of Hindu civilization, has India had so little freedom of trade in the true meaning of the term. Let us, if we will, candidly confess that India is in the position of a conquered country and must be treated as such, so far as we dare, but let us at least give up our hypocritical talk about the development of its resources as tending to the enrichment of the peasantry. The class of natives that is most benefited by the foreign trade is that of the middlemen, but the chief gainers are the English railway investors, the ship-owners, the

* A recent writer in *The Calcutta Review* (Oct., 1883) has pointed out that the severe action of the revenue authorities in Orissa at the beginning of this century ruined the old landed gentry, whose land was taken by absentee Bengali zemindars, and their place by foreign money-lenders. Hence rents were spent outside the district, local works got neglected, and at last came the famine of 1866 on a depleted and inaccessible province.

iron-masters and the cotton-spinners, and last but not least the Indian bureaucracy. At the annual Financial Statement in the House of Commons we are always told that a large part of the Indian revenues are not taxation but rent, railway receipts, and the like. But any one who has carefully examined the methods by which the land revenue has been assessed in India will hardly fail to come to the conclusion that in many districts, especially where the soil is inferior, as in parts of Bombay, or where population is dense and there are few openings for non-agricultural occupations, as in the N. W. P., the land revenue is a heavy land-tax, not to say a rack-rent, and, if rigorously and vigorously collected in years of scarcity, may by the depletion of grain-stores and bullion greatly intensify the sufferings of the peasantry, by turning what might be only a year of scarcity into one of actual famine. And as regards railway receipts it must never be forgotten that they pre-suppose the withdrawal from the natives of all the profits and part of the wages of the old carrying-trade, worth many millions a year. But surely it is easier for a country to bear a heavy taxation, if it is free to accumulate wealth, than a lighter taxation, if its capacity for production and accumulation is curtailed on every side. There is one thing heavier than any taxation, and that is the destruction of industry, and the forcible diversion of the profits of trade from the pockets of natives to those of aliens. When a Government like that of the Moghuls encouraged* native arts and industries of every kind, and spent its revenues in the country, it was easy to raise a large revenue from the proceeds of such industries; but when a Government destroys industries and directly sends every year over £20,000,000 out of the country, how can it expect to raise the same amount of taxation without ever-increasing suffering? The whole burden of taxation is being more and more placed on the backs of the agricultural classes, while the land is getting more densely crowded, and in parts, owing to the

* One of the advantages of the East India Company's rule was its careful fostering of native manufactures, especially of the weaving kind, which at one time threatened the nascent English manufacturers. This was one of the reasons that led to the attacks of the English mercantile world. Since 1858 not only has the Indian Government not fostered native industries, but it has actually destroyed some, such as carpet-weaving, by the cheap and debased products of the jails—coarse weaving ought alone to be allowed—while silver-work has been much discouraged by the English import duties. The Indian Government has lately attempted to rectify both the wrongs by appealing to the principles of Free Trade, but the India Office in the one case and the Treasury in the other have treated the whole matter with contempt. (*See Official Papers.*) Ireland was treated in exactly the same way last century, and all the people thrown on the land. Hence, as in the case of India, the Land Question and Rent Acts. Native architecture is destroyed by the Public Works Department and its hideous structures.—*See article in Calcutta Review, Oct., 1883, by F. S. Growse, C.I.E.*

consumption of manure in the place of the old jungle-fuel, and the quickening of the cattle-disease by the salt-tax, is said to be deteriorating. It has been asserted by many people ignorant of the agricultural life of India, with its double crop system, its careful irrigation, and its laborious cultivation, that the Indian peasantry require instruction in the scientific agriculture of the West. But the more minutely the whole subject has been investigated by competent Anglo-Indian officers, the more clearly has it been shown that the native agriculturist, with his centuries* of traditional experience, has little to learn from the teaching of such mushroom growths as Cirencester, Downton, and Cooper's Hill Colleges. Indeed, the whole theory of developing the resources of India by Western skill and capital is based on a profound misconception. A country which either is or will be cultivated throughout its length and breadth on the *petite culture* principle, and is possessed of little mineral wealth, holds within itself, if allowed to pursue its own methods, all the means for making the best use of its natural wealth. All that is necessary for any Government to do, is to give every encouragement to its peasantry to invest their savings in the land, to foster every variety of industrial enterprise, to open up communications by road, river, and sea, leaving the natives to conduct the carrying trade as they think fit; and finally, to limit taxation to that amount which is required to preserve peace. But instead of contenting ourselves with this humble rôle, we have undertaken to play the part of an earthly Providence. We have a second time attempted to unite the functions of the trader and the sovereign, functions which have again and again, since the time of Fox's East India Bill, been declared by the highest authorities to be incompatible, and have blinded ourselves as to the nature of our action by the phrase of "improved communications," forgetting the fact that railways are not like roads, open to all the natives for the profitable use of their cattle and carts, but are close trade monopolies owned by Englishmen. We have thus been guilty of the most drastic kind of State interference known to history, and that, too, in the case of a conquered country, where it is impossible for an alien bureaucracy, the units of which are continually being changed, to

* See Sir James Caird's book, "India: The Land and the People." Also, "Introduction to the Gazetteer of Oudh," by W. C. Benett, now head of the Agricultural Department in the N. W. P. and Oudh. Also, "Statistical Papers Relating to India," 1853, and "Report on Cotton Growing." Sir J. Caird points out that sugar is a much more paying crop than opium, especially as the Government gets the larger share of the profits of the latter. But ryots who have once taken advances from the Opium Department are practically bound to go on cultivating it. Indigo is not so paying a crop as rice except to the planter, who forces the ryot to grow it on his own terms. See article in *Macmillan*, January, 1884.

foresee all the consequences of its action. Those who look merely at the superficial symptoms of the economic revolution which has been brought about in India may declare that the country is growing richer, happier, and more civilized; but those who examine more closely the conditions of native society can hardly fail to come to the conclusion that in the larger portion* of the Indian Empire the population is getting poorer, more unhappy, and less civilized. And the more the burden of this growing pauperism is felt, the greater will be the discontent with the Government that has imposed it, and the keener the temptation to the country to shake itself free of the heavy foreign debt that has been incurred without any demand or assent on its part. Can it then be prudent for the Indian Government to listen to the clamours of those commercial circles in England that are now urging it to increase its borrowings in the English market, and yet further augment its liabilities? Conservatives profess to look with alarm on the approach of Russia towards India. Are they willing to give her the chance of offering a splendid bribe to the natives in the shape of relief from foreign debts? Liberals profess to believe in the efficacy of Free Trade and free development. Are they going to force India to apply still further the doctrine of Protectionism to the carrying trade of the country, and to check the free play of indigenous forces? And, lastly, is the English nation, which will ultimately have to pay for any blunders in statesmanship, ready to sacrifice its Imperial responsibilities to the demands of individual self-interest? What India really requires is not the development of its resources by external capital, but the diversion of its revenues into internal channels. There ought to be the most thorough-going retrenchment in the public works and

* The largest amount of prosperity is to be found either in Bengal, which is protected by a Permanent Settlement, or in those districts, whether in the Central Provinces, the North-western Provinces, or the Punjab, where the land-tax is still low. I might instance Bareilly and Bulandshehr in the North-western Provinces, and Eastern Bengal. If the land-tax is much increased in such districts—and the Bengal Rent-act may lead to this result even in Bengal—there is certain to be a change for the worse. A Permanent Settlement for the whole of India is the one thing needed, but it must be *distinctly moderate*, and made with due regard to subordinate rights. It would conduce more than anything else to the stability of the Empire. One of the worst signs of the times is the drunkenness of the peasantry. Whether it be the result of despair, or of idleness, or of demoralization it is difficult to say. Local Option ought to be granted to the village elders. As it is, the Government is tempted to regard the growth of its excise as a sufficient set-off against the increase of drunkenness. It is not naturally a Hindu vice. See article by F. Growse, *Calcutta Review*. Here again the exigencies of finance stop the way of reform. If the working of the Local Self-Government scheme is not carefully watched, it will be stifled by the Public Works and Education Departments, or starved by the Provincial Government's small doles. In that case the Local Committees will be forced to raise further rates or do nothing.

military establishments, and, above all, in the home remittances of all sorts, so that the country may be able to accumulate capital, now getting scarcer year by year. And if in the future there is a really popular demand for more railways, and native capitalists come forward, as they have done for some of the cheaper railway shares, then the public works policy may be again considered. But it is above all things necessary not to give a merely artificial and external stimulus to a long-settled status. Historians, whose ideas have been largely coloured by those of the governing classes, have depicted in strong colours the short-lived horrors of a popular revolution, but the permanent sufferings caused by a governmental revolution have for the most part been sketched with faint touches. And yet the latter type of revolution leads to more disastrous consequences than the former. The vital forces which in the one case are ever working towards a new social equilibrium, are in the other case not brought into play till the Government is itself overthrown. If India is to escape such a catastrophe, it can only do so by the Indian Government and the British Parliament showing more consideration than hitherto for native wants and ways. It is not more science, but more sympathy that is demanded of us by an ancient civilization like that of India. This is the lesson which may be read up and down the pages of British Rule in the East. All the well-recognized and splendid successes of our countrymen in dealing with Orientals are due to the observance, and all their less known, but none the less ignominious, failures, are due to the breach of this principle. Wherever we have superseded, instead of supervising, native officials and headmen, wherever we have poisoned the social organism with English reforms, instead of purifying it by the light of the best native traditions, there the seeds of demoralization and disaster have been sown broadcast. The wisest men in India are beginning to recognize this fact, but we in England are still oblivious of it, and especially in those points where commercial self-interest blinds our eyes. Just as the elaborate* judicial machinery of England,

* See *Times*’ “Calcutta Telegram,” of February 17th:—“A substantial grievance, pressing very severely upon civil suitors throughout India, but especially in Bengal, has been ably and clearly exposed by the Chief Justice. In a Minute submitted to the Government, Sir Richard Garth argues, first, that as a matter of justice to suitors the tax on litigation should be considerably reduced; and, secondly, that the form in which the tax is imposed—namely, by an *ad valorem* stamp fee on the institution of the suit—is both unwise and inconvenient. He shows that while the cost of Civil Courts in Bengal is estimated at 33,96,066 rupees annually, the total revenue to the Government from the stamp-fees charged on civil suitors in the provinces is nearly double the sum expended. And by an examination of the figures for the whole country, he proves that the civil suitors in India are now made to bear the burden, not only of the Civil Courts, but of all

and the individualistic land-tenure system of England have been imported into India, so have we pressed, and are now pressing on India our methods of carriage in the shape of railways, without ever asking ourselves whether the material and social conditions of India's agricultural life are such as to make them desirable.* Indeed, the very argument adduced for pressing them on India, through the guaranteed aid of an alien Government, is that the natives are not able to equip themselves spontaneously. But the very fact of their inability may be the clearest proof of the absence of any real need. Let us, before it is too late, take to heart the wise words of Goethe:—

“Nothing is good for a nation but that which arises out of its own case and its own special wants, without a pish imitation of another, since what to one race of people of a certain age is a wholesome nutriment, may perhaps prove a poison for another. All endeavours, therefore, to introduce any foreign innovation, the necessity for which is not rooted in the core of the nation itself, are foolish, and all premeditated revolutions of the kind are unsuccessful, for they are without God, who keeps aloof from all such bungling.”†

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I must say that most of us here, if not all, will agree that this is a very valuable paper. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Connell has gone direct to

the Criminal Courts also; besides contributing a surplus of about £100,000 for the benefit of the general public. The injustice of this is self-evident, and in many instances the present system amounts to an absolute denial of justice to the poor. The whole subject clearly demands careful and early consideration.”

* The following information is given by a recent *Times*’ Calcutta telegram:—“An official note on the subject of rupee loans, written by Mr. Westland, Comptroller-General, has been published in *The Calcutta Statesman*. The practical effect of the document is to show that by attempting to borrow in the Calcutta market instead of in London, the Government has thrown away a sum of £7,000,000 sterling out of £26,000,000 borrowed in the last ten years. Mr. Westland proves by figures that there is very little absorbing power in India, that the small margin in India is used only to tide over the time that intervenes between the issue of a loan in India and its gradual passage to England, and that India has been really depending upon the power of England to absorb her rupee loans, a power which unfortunately is beginning to fail. A more powerful or more telling indictment has seldom been brought against recent Indian financial administration.”

† “The Wisdom of Goethe,” by Professor Blackie. Mr. Fowler speaks of clumsy old bullock traffic by the side of “cheap” modern railways. He forgets that manure and milk are not yielded by an engine—a very important advantage for the peasantry—and that a bullock can be used in the field as well as on the road. Why should the Indian Government guarantee the English rather than the native carrying-trade? Why not give bounties to bullock-drivers and boatmen? The only answer is that they cannot make themselves heard in the British Parliament. When the Indian Government lately talked of giving a guarantee to a Bengal iron company, the English iron-masters were up in arms.

the sources of information ; and though he may, in some instances, have drawn inferences with which we shall not agree, his course is far better than mere guess-work, and far better than the assumption which we so often hear, that what has been done with a good motive is necessarily the very best that could be done. He has applied that invaluable precept, "Put yourself in his place," as far as he could to the Indian people. On page 93 of the paper, Mr. Connell speaks of "the essential conditions of our present method of administering "Indian affairs." I submit it is not so much administration that is in question ; we ought rather to speak of the essential conditions of the relations between a dependent Eastern country and alien Western rule. On page 96 he speaks of increased home remittances, and he mentions that one-third of the heavy loss by exchange is due to payments made to railway investors ; but we must contend—though, perhaps, I am rather anticipating—that those railway payments are at least remunerative to some extent. It is the other two-thirds which are simply a dead payment without any commercial return whatever—the payments for old debts, for pensions, and such like. Again : he says, on page 107, "If there were no railways, no home remittances to be "paid, the revenues would remain on the spot." Just so ; but that could not be under the conditions of a foreign dependency. Then, at page 110, Mr. Connell gives the home remittances at 20 millions a year. That is not quite correct, as you will see from the current budget statement, a summary of which appeared in the newspapers yesterday. The official remittances for the year are $16\frac{1}{2}$ millions, though the payments of the total remittances account are much larger ; but then several millions are set off on the other side, as you will see in the account of "Home Charges." The total annual disbursements through the India Office are 30 millions ; but then there are the receipts on this side. But with regard to that there is the fact that these remittances, including large private remittances, are a real and wholesale transfer of the revenues and annual produce of India. That is the subject Mr. Connell brings out, and which, in discussing Indian questions, is constantly kept out of sight. I have myself, year after year, tried to bring it to public notice ; and I may just point out that, in the first number of your JOURNAL last year, there is a valuable paper by the late Sir George Wingate, in which the argument of Mr. Connell is stated in distinct and scientific form. It would be exceedingly useful for those who are interested in this great subject to refer back to that valuable memorandum, that was written at a time when Indian trade was much less than it is now, and the transfer of resources was comparatively small. I must confess, as Mr. Connell brings out these

facts—this “skeleton in the closet,” so to speak—I feel almost appalled myself. It is not that the facts are altogether new; one becomes inured to those things in course of time; but I cannot help feeling the discouragement that a consideration of these facts must give to any man who sincerely wishes to know what England can do for India. It may cause great discouragement in the minds of many who come to discuss this matter for the first time without being so well able to take account of those other considerations which you, Mr. Chairman, and others have present to your own minds. But we should not give way to this feeling of despondency. (Hear, hear.) We must try to deal with the facts such as they are, and Mr. Connell is to be thanked for bringing forward many of them. But let me observe at page 96 he puts the conclusions of Mr. Goschen’s Committee the wrong way about. That Council did not find that it was the increased remittances of the railway *interest* which caused the fall in silver, but the cessation of the supply of railway *capital*; and, if you remember, the solution which I ventured to offer for that was the supply of more capital, but on different conditions and under very different regulations. Now coming, so to speak, to the crux of Mr. Connell’s paper, as to whether country roads and bullock carts (to put it roughly) are better than railways, there is an illustration furnished in that interesting speech delivered by the present Governor of Bombay, Sir James Ferguson, two or three weeks ago on the opening of the South Mahratta Railway, or rather of the junction of the South Mahratta Railway at Poona. That railway is one that I consider a very unfavourable example, and therefore the comparison puts Mr. Connell’s argument as strongly as possible. That railway is to run through the Eastern Deccan, taking the produce all the way round by Poona to Bombay, though some portion of it would go south to Goa. I have just taken out the figures which Sir James gives, and the comparison between cost of cartage by road and that by railway from Sattara thence to Jamkhundi, down to the nearest point of the sea coast, may be thus set out:—

From	Miles to Bombay by RAIL.	Cost per ton Rs.	Miles to sea at Chiplun in Konkan by CART-ROAD.	Cost per ton Rs.
Karad (Sattara)	200	10	60	20
Kurunbad	250	12	100	30
Jamkhundi	340	20	130	40
Average distances and cost from the three points named	263	14	97	30

As His Excellency went on to show, any reduction of these cartage charges amounts to "a premium upon the industry of the Ryot and "the lightening of his burdens." But against that Mr. Connell puts the increased taxation entailed by payment—not of the interest on the railway capital, nor even on the loss by exchange—because, as you know, those charges, under his hypothesis, must be included in the railway charges—it is such taxation as arises under that old bill of accumulated interest, 37 millions which Mr. Connell puts down at page 96, which I admit is from authentic records. It would require an actuary to compare the incidence of that taxation, on these lower costs by railway, accurately; but we cannot suppose that such taxation can at all approach the difference between those rates on the cartage and the rates by railway which, according to Sir James's figures, come to 10, 18 and 20 Rs. a ton respectively. It is not likely, therefore, that the large obvious saving to the credit of the railway system even, as I say, under this unfavourable example, as I think it is, can be swallowed up by Mr. Connell's item of extra taxation. (Hear, hear.) Sir James, in the course of his speech, vainly tried to avoid the consideration which ought to be much more frequently borne in mind amongst our railway friends, that railways cannot make corn *grow*. (Hear, hear.) He referred to it, but he shied at it. But I am glad to see that he went on to point out what has been done in the same district by irrigation. He says that in the course of a year or two there will be something like 400 square miles brought under the influence of irrigation. There you have a means of increasing the food of the people, and—as Mr. Connell wishes—you have, by means of these water-works, the resources of the country turned into its internal service. (Hear, hear.) After all, as I said before, the paper is an exceedingly important one, and one that requires to be considered well by many of our friends who have indulged in these optimist views of Indian affairs—some whom we know are so prominent, as our own President, Sir Richard Temple, for instance. In view of that, this broad view of the matter in the quotation that Mr. Connell gives from J. S. Mill's important petition of 1857, that eminent man's warning, still holds good; but with this difference, that in these days we have more information, more publicity, so that private interests and class interests cannot overcome public interests so easily as was the case in former times. If those whose only care is the public interest—which this Association in particular is intended to represent—will but exert themselves to see that the public interest and the direct interest only of the people of India are considered in the large transactions which Mr. Connell seems to think are still pending, all

may yet be well. Mr. Connell speaks of the effect of an alien bureaucracy tending to thwart any benevolent intentions there may be in our Government. Now, I don't think it is so much any personal interests of bureaucratic administration, but it is this inevitably adverse condition: You have India dependent on a foreign country and bound to pay this large amount year after year, and the only question is how to overcome that difficulty? After thinking over the matter most seriously through a long course of years, and feeling as strongly as Mr. Connell can do on the subject, I came to the conclusion which I set out fully in my paper last year, that the only way to do this is, that we must go forward courageously and apply the great capital of Europe and our modern knowledge—and whatever we may think of the philosophy of India, our knowledge of material things is much more effective as regards productive purposes—we must, I say, do that with reason, with judgment, and far more carefully than we have yet done. With regard to what Mr. Connell says about the Indian Council transacting its important business behind the screen and without publicity, no opportunity should be avoided of pointing out how much is missed in that way. (Hear, hear.) I am satisfied that if the doings of the Indian Council could be brought more frequently and periodically before the notice of the public, we should get immense light on current Indian affairs without which many of our best men grope in the dark. (Hear, hear.) There is as a foot-note—and I would just remark, if I may, that Mr. Connell's foot-notes are something like the proverbial lady's postscript, some of them are more important than the text—in a foot-note at page 96 he gives a very crude summary of Mr. Westland's note on the wasteful custom of taking up Indian lines in India instead of in England. That Minute of Mr. Westland's is set out in full in *The Times of India* Summary for February 8th, and anyone who wishes to follow the subject may well turn to that. I must confess, having read it myself, to some disappointment, that Mr. Westland does not point his moral, and show, as his figures plainly prove, the immensely greater economy of borrowing in England. Anyhow, he puts down the facts, and it will well repay anyone to refer back to that Minute. At page 111 Mr. Connell says: "All that is necessary for any Government to do is to give every encouragement to its peasantry to invest their savings in the land, to foster every variety of industrial enterprise," and so on, and a very interesting passage that is. Well, we must all agree with that, and our authorities are doing it—really striving towards that end. (Hear, hear.) I may just refer incidentally to the memoranda affixed by Major Baring to his last Budget, as showing in the strongest light what pains he and those

around him are taking to "foster native industries," and to do what can be done for the benefit of the masses of India under modern conditions. And this must be "under modern conditions," because we cannot spend all the revenues in the country as the Moguls did; but still we can do so to some extent, as the old East India Company did in spite of the very adverse protective system then obtaining in this country. As I have said, this paper raises very large questions, which demand the careful attention of men of the best thought amongst us. It is a great task we have to accomplish: to quote from the American poet, I may say, that what we have before us is this: we have to—

"Link Fulton's age of steam,
With Manu's age of thought."

Mr. EDMUND KIMBER: Mr. Chairman, I should think that if the views stated in that paper were those generally to be adopted in this country the reading of this paper would be little short of a calamity. Not only, I think, are the views stated in this paper most erroneous, but they are founded upon assertions which simply have their own strength for their basis. Now, first take one for example. On the 111th page we have this: "All that is necessary for any Government "to do is to give every encouragement to its peasantry to invest their "savings in the land"—that we do at present; "to foster every "variety of industries and enterprise"—that we do at present; "to "open up communications by road, river, and sea, leaving the natives "to conduct the carrying trade as they think fit"—that, at any rate, if we did not do in times past we are doing now; "and finally to limit "taxation to that amount which is required to preserve peace;" that we do at present. But what does Mr. Connell say further on? "Instead of contenting ourselves with this humble rôle we have undertaken to play the part of an earthly providence." I entirely join issue with that assertion. I say there is not the slightest foundation for it. Again we read: "We have a second time attempted to unite the "functions of the trader and the sovereign, functions which have "again and again, since the time of Fox's East India Bill, been declared "by the highest authorities to be incompatible, and have blinded "ourselves as to the nature of our action by the phrase of 'improved "communications,' forgetting the fact that railways are not like roads, "open to all natives for the profitable use of their cattle and carts, but "are close trade monopolies owned by Englishmen." What stability is there in an assertion of that kind? Roads not open to everybody!

Mr. CONNELL: May I explain; the word which ought to be italicized is "profitable."

Mr. KIMBER: "Open to all the natives for the *profitable* use of "their cattle and carts." What difference does that make? I should have imagined that, at any rate, the railways could carry their cattle, if they chose to pay for them. The fallacy underlying the whole of this has been slightly touched upon by Mr. Martin Wood, and that is this. It is supposed that the capital of this country is forced upon India, India being an unwilling borrower. Now let us calmly consider whether India is an unwilling borrower. Let us compare the system of obtaining loans for railway purposes in this country with that of other countries. Now, Russia has come to this country to borrow money at a much heavier rate than India, and who can say that English capital has been forced upon Russia? Russia, at any rate, has been in the position of being a chooser of the countries from whom she will borrow money; she can go to England or America, or any other country if she chose. What is the consequence? Russia has built most of her railways with English capital, and now after years of building in that way the Russian people are positively coming into the English and French markets for the purpose of buying up Russian railway stock. What does that show? That in years gone by the Russians as a Government could not build their railways themselves, so they got them built with English capital, and then after the stock was created the Russians themselves, finding it such good stock, have come into the English market to buy it piecemeal. Now that has occurred with Italy; it has also occurred with America, and at this time, week after week, Americans are in our London Stock Exchange buying their own railway stock to the extent of many hundreds of thousands a week. What does that show? It shows that even in the United States, in years gone by, they found that the English money market has been a cheap one to borrow in; and that having constructed their railways and created their stock, they now come into the English market and buy it piecemeal. Now, what difference is there between the way in which the Russian Government has borrowed, or the Italian Government, or the United States Government, and the way in which the Indian Government has borrowed? The difference is this in favour of India, that whereas the Indians themselves could not borrow nearly upon the terms available for the Italians, the Russians, or the United States Government, they positively have got the credit and the backing of the British Government to enable them to come into our markets and

enable them to borrow money at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Is not that a boon? Is the Government to be decried because it enables Indians to do that? Why, they appreciate it to such an extent that even the individual proprietors themselves are, to my personal knowledge, coming to the city of London and attempting to borrow money at a very much less rate than they could in India itself. Supposing any individual in this room could say, "Oh! in London I cannot get money at less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; if I go to the United States I can get it at 3 per cent." Is that to the disadvantage of Englishmen? Is it an advantage or not to the native Indian whether the Government interferes with him or not to be able to come to this country and borrow money upon his landed estate at 5 per cent. instead of paying the Indian usurer 10 or 12 or 20 per cent. Who has the advantage of that? I should think the Indian. What does it matter where the money comes from so long as he gets it cheaply? Now, there are several cardinal errors made throughout the whole of this paper. Look at page 108. Mr. Connell says, "If good roads were made . . ." Well, I have no doubt whatever that good roads are being made; but I also have no doubt that when Mr. Connell becomes Viceroy of India we shall have very much better roads. (Laughter.) But mark the fallacy of this statement; look at the inconsistency of it with that which comes after it: "If good roads were made, the surplus agricultural population would be able to move off to less crowded districts." Why, if railways are made, cannot they move at a little quicker pace? He says, "As it is, railways carry off the crops, but leave the mass of the people behind." That is very funny—that these machines which move so quickly should move the crops but should not be able to move the people! That is a most extraordinary statement. Then there is this: "In time of famine it is by *road* and not by *rail* that the migration of men and beasts takes place." Now, that is true to this limited extent: take the case of the Orissa famine, in the proceedings for the relief of which my brother, who is now in Calcutta, took part. There it is perfectly true that the people did die by thousands on the road-sides. But why? Because they could not get away quickly enough. If there had been railways, they would all have been got clear off, and there would have been no famine—at any rate the grain would have gone into that district, and the persons who did not choose to live in that district would have gone into districts where grain was more plentiful. Then he says, "They have at the same time considerably raised the price of food by bringing the capitalist face to face with the Indian landless labourers." Well, I suppose if they have

increased the price of food, they have also increased the power of the Indian inhabitants to pay for it. It is a very curious thing that the price of food should rise when money does not become more plentiful. I should have thought the two things went together. Then they were led for a short time "to the formation of a fresh wage-fund, yet, when completed, they have left the wage-earners the victims of higher prices in a glutted labour market." Now the whole experience of those who have been concerned in the construction of railways has been this: that it had carried off the surplus population from one part of India to another where there has been no surplus population—it has possibly prevented the glutting of the labour market in different parts of India. Then we have some extraordinary statements on page 109. For instance, "Let us, if we will, candidly confess that India is in the position of a conquered country, and must be treated as such, so far as we dare; but let us at least give up our hypocritical talk about the development of its resources as tending to the enrichment of the peasantry." Well, does not the development of the resources of any country enrich its inhabitants? I should have thought so; at any rate we Englishmen have been under that delusion for many years past. We have been endeavouring to develop the resources of this country fast enough, and I hope the development of the resources of this country and of India, too, will go on as fast as possible. Mr. Connell makes a great mistake in supposing that the Indians themselves are not individually, without the slightest assistance or interference from the Government whatever, at the present moment making a tremendous stir throughout the length and breadth of India. That is the most recent intelligence. You find it in the editorial remarks of the most conflicting editors in India. I remarked it in two papers received by me just recently, *The Statesman* and *The Englishman*.

Mr. CONNELL: English, not native papers.

Mr. KIMBER: It is most remarkable that although both those editors are ready to tear one another to pieces, yet they do agree upon this that there is an extraordinary commotion throughout India on the part of the natives independently for the purpose of developing the resources of the country. So that is quite clear that at any rate at the last moment English enterprise is beginning to make a deep impression on the minds of the Indians themselves, so as to encourage them to go on independently. Now we have some magnificent political philanthropy on page 113. "Historians, whose

"ideas have been largely coloured by those of the governing classes, "have depicted in strong colours the short-lived horrors of a popular "revolution, but the permanent sufferings caused by a governmental "revolution have for the most part been sketched with faint touches."

Mr. MARTIN WOOD: Hear, hear.

Mr. KIMBER: I suppose Mr. Martin Wood is the authority for this (laughter); but is not it extraordinary that our friend Mr. Connell says that it has been sketched with but faint touches. Why? Because there has been nothing to touch. History cannot record anything but that which happens. I should like to know what you expect of a historian. Do you expect him to show something from his imagination? I should think this; that all you want the historian to record would be current events. He says, "Yet the latter "type of revolution leads to more disastrous consequences than the "former."

Mr. MARTIN WOOD: Hear, hear.

Mr. KIMBER: Well, that is a very fine platitude, but as yet I have not found it verified in history. I have yet to learn that the present Government system in India will lead to such disastrous consequences as the systems of such Governments as India had in the past. I believe, with Mr. Connell, that it is by no means a perfect Government. I believe that this is a most imperfect Government; but I do not believe for a moment that it deserves the wholesale condemnation which Mr. Connell gives it here. Now, with regard to Mr. Connell's figures, I have in my hand a State paper which has been recently issued by the Secretary to the Government of India, Colonel Trevor, under date the 4th of January, 1884. Mr. Connell tells us that the interest which has been paid by the Government on behalf of the railways is lost sight of. Now, here is a State paper which conclusively proves that it has not been lost sight of. Here this gentleman, by order of the Government, goes into the whole of the figures with which Mr. Connell starts, and, including the interest which has been paid by the Government on account of these guaranteed lines, he reduces it to this: that they pay altogether 3.90 per cent. on the capital outlay, plus the balance of interest charges, plus the premium paid to the East Indian Railway. What is clearer than that? I should like Mr. Connell—throughout the whole world, including Italy, Russia, the United States, and France—to point to a single country where railways have been so profitable as in India. They have certainly not been so profitable here in this country.

We have spent millions and millions of money. We have taxed ourselves (by way of speculation, it is true) in the hope that we should get some return; but how many millions of money are there in this country invested in railway stock that do not return one per cent.? We had a very good statement the other day from Lord Brabourne, which was published in all the newspapers, showing distinctly and clearly how that something like seventy millions sterling of English railway stock does not pay one single penny per cent. Why is that? Why, it may be asked, have Englishmen voluntarily taxed themselves to that extent only to get nothing? For this reason: not because they put their money into railways as a railway investment, but because of the subsidiary advantages—the advantage of increasing the value of land, the advantage of increasing the trade of certain districts, the advantage of transferring the surplus population from one part of the country to another. That has been going on silently and steadfastly in England for years and years past. That is the reason that the Americans make their railways. They do not invest their money in the railway *qua* railway only, but railways are made for the sake of the land, for the purpose of increasing the value of the land. And what is it that political philosophers, I mean true political philosophers, put forward with regard to India? They say, above and beyond the advantages of the 3·90 per cent. (and this is not considered by those persons who take the antagonistic view of Mr. Connell), that it increases on the average the value of the land by the side of the railway three or four hundred per cent. Nothing could be a greater condemnation of the views taken by Mr. Connell than the views taken throughout India at the present moment both by natives and Europeans; and I think nothing can justify the Government more in their policy at the present moment of getting a Committee of the House of Commons to sit in order to bring about, not the diminution of railway enterprise, but its very much greater extension. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. A. K. SETTNA: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have read Mr. Connell's paper with great interest, and I believe whatever may be said about its merits, and although it has met with a slashing attack from the gentleman who preceded me, it has certainly been prepared with great pains and study. I am not insensible to the great and manifold advantages of railways in developing the resources of a country, but I believe that railways pushed on at high-pressure are perhaps too much of a good thing as regards India. Perhaps it may not be quite advantageous to the country because it simply sinks the country more into indebtedness, when the Government borrows money

for making railways, and it may not at the same time be beneficial to the investor of the money. But whatever might be said about the want of railways as being one of the causes of poverty in India, I believe it is not the principal cause. If want of railways were the principal cause of the misery and the poverty of a people, I believe that London would be the last place in the world where we should hear such complaints. Therefore, although as I have said, I am not insensible at all to the great advantages of railways, I am inclined to agree a little with the writer of this paper. The chief complaint, and to my mind the most fatal complaint against the English Government is the very costly and expensive machinery at present adopted in governing India. It is the more condemnable because it is quite unnecessary. "It neither blesseth him that gives, nor him that takes." It is as Mr. Martin Wood pointed out, a great fallacy to suppose that India is a rich country, and certainly the fact that India is, as Mr. Connell points out, getting poorer and not richer, is one that requires the great and careful consideration of those optimists. If one may be permitted to speak about current politics, I may say that I saw the other day in some of the Indian papers the Administration Report of Calcutta for the last year, in which the Lieutenant-Governor has said that although the Indian press is on the whole improving in its tone, there is still great room for improvement. That of course I myself would concede, but at the same time he adds that there is still a persistent perversion of the views of the Government as reflected in the Indian press. Well, I quite believe that there may be great room for improvement in the tone of the native press, but at the same time, if the Lieut.-Governor had been more impartial he might have told us of the utterances of the Anglo-Indian press during the last year. However that may be, I do not wish to touch upon it here, and do not wish to detain you much longer. It shows, as Mr. Connell very properly puts it, that more sympathy and less of science is really what is wanted in India. I feel that Mr. Connell's paper comes very opportunely at this moment, coming at a time when the Railway Committee is holding its deliberations, and also more particularly opportunely as Mr. Slagg's motion on India is expected to come on to-day in the House. Let us hope that that may accomplish the good foretold by its friends. Let us hope that the English people will become more alive and more sensible to their responsibilities in the East, and will rise to a sense of their duty, and devote more earnest attention to the progress of Indian affairs.

Mr. P. H. BAGENAL: Mr. Chairman,—I hope by this time

the meeting has recovered from the effect of the speech which was delivered from behind me [by Mr. Kimber]. One cannot imagine that that gentleman was ever wrong in his life. He has, I think, brought the "cock-sure" method of argument to an exact science—(laughter)—and if we were to believe all that he said I think that poor Mr. Connell might retire at once without even attempting to make any reply. But I have confidence in Mr. Connell because I think he has brought forward in this paper principles which will probably find their way into the public press, and will be discussed with very much more attention than has been given them by the gentleman behind me. Mr. Kimber made one remark which I will answer at once. He said that in England they had been accustomed to believe that the development of the resources of the country tended to the enrichment of the peasantry. I would ask him what he says to the case of Ireland. We may presume that he knows something of the Government of Ireland during the last 100 years, and I would ask him whether he approves of the system of Government which has been carried on in that country, and whether it has tended to the improvement of the people. I am very glad to see that Mr. Connell has put in the very forefront of his paper an impeachment of the so-called system of free-trade which I am pleased to see is beginning to be somewhat decried in this country. I have no doubt that the gentleman behind me (Mr. Kimber) is one of the staunchest upholders of the present system of one-sided Free Trade: I know it; and he does not deny it.

The CHAIRMAN: I must ask you, Sir, to address your remarks to the subject under discussion. It is not customary at these meetings to allude to individuals.

Mr. BAGENAL: Then, Sir, I must apologize for alluding in debate to the observations of the gentleman who spoke just before me—which I believe is not an unusual thing to do. However, what is most important in this paper is the impeachment of Free Trade. I will quote the remarks of Mr. Connell because I think they are most important. "It may be asserted without fear of contradiction that no Government, since history began, ever held such awful powers of life and death. Parliament by its abolition of the cotton duties boasts of having given India complete Free Trade. Free Trade, indeed! when India is bound hand and foot and delivered over to the Indian Government and the English capitalist to do with it what they list." That I think is a very remarkable statement. I think there is one answer to the remarks about railways and the way

in which the Russians have come in and bought up Russian railway stock which applies to that point. The railways which were made by English capital in Russia were private undertakings. The railways that have been made in India have been made by Government capital. ("No.") I am not an expert, but I am under the impression that they were made by Government for Government purposes principally, and if so, there is a very large difference between the case which is brought forward of Russian railways and that of Indian railways.

The CHAIRMAN: If you will refer to the paper you will find that it is not the case. Mr. Connell distinctly points out the different descriptions of railways. One portion only has been made by the Government, which has been only quite recently.

Mr. BAGENAL: Of course, Sir, I am glad to be corrected. I think this paper is only a preliminary paper, because it seems to me to be lacking in one very important point. Mr. Connell does not bring forward any distinct policy, nor state what he advocates should be done to benefit the natives. That is the great difficulty and it is a difficulty which he has not attempted to meet. I agree quite with what he says: that all that is necessary for any Government to do is to give every encouragement to the peasantry to invest their savings in the land and to foster every variety of industry and enterprise; but how is the Government to do that? Railways are all very well, but when it does not pay to send goods along the railway I do not very well see what good the railways are.

Mr. CONNELL: I deal with that matter in the notes on pages 102 and 112.

Mr. BAGENAL: I should like to ask Mr. Connell whether he has ever taken into consideration the policy which has been advocated in Parliament by Mr. Ecroyd, of bringing the colonies and India into closer commercial annexation with the mother-country. I want to ask him what he thinks would be the result, for instance in India, upon the peasant population there if a new commercial system were established by means of which our colonies and India would be given a differential advantage in the import of our food supplies, and whether he thinks that if a policy were carried out our food growers would come to be our Indian ryots and Australian colonists instead of others who are now starving out our industries by protective tariffs. I think if Mr. Connell would take that into account his opinion upon it would be very valuable. I know that some political economists who believe

merely in abstract science seem to think that the only way to treat those who are on the other side is to call them fools and fanatics. I wish Mr. Connell would kindly answer this suggestion, and tell us what he thinks of such a policy. To my own knowledge the system—whatever be the right name to call it, it may be called fair trade—is really growing very largely in favour throughout the country, and I want to know what effect it would have more especially upon the Indian population. As I have said, I regard Mr. Connell's paper as very interesting, and principally interesting, I think, because it impeaches the principles of so-called Free Trade.

Mr. J. R. BULLEN-SMITH: Mr. Chairman,—It has all along been the principle of this Association, I think rightly so, to be glad to listen to what bears on Indian questions, from whatever quarter it may come, and however much it may differ from pre-conceived ideas. Therefore I think we ought to be thankful to Mr. Connell for having prepared a paper which bears upon the face of it marks of great diligence and considerable research and trouble on the part of the writer. And yet I confess I should very much regret if the contents of this paper, or if anything at all approaching to it were to go forth to the world, and especially to the people of India, as in any degree representative of the feelings which are entertained by this Association upon this important subject. I began my residence in India under the great Marquis with whom you yourself, Sir, were so closely associated, and I confess I had hitherto been accustomed to think that perhaps the greatest memorial of his truly great career which he left in India was his inauguration of railways. I should have thought it was late in the day for anyone to come forward; in fact, I could scarcely have believed that anyone could be found to have come forward, at this time of day, to ask the question: Are railways a benefit to India? It is very difficult in the course of a ten minutes' speech to go through a paper like this, because the statements in it are very, very numerous, and some of them would require very considerable time to refute. There are some of them, not a few of them, which, I think had I time, and especially had I the materials, I could easily refute. There is one to which I emphatically take exception, and it is this: In speaking of the effect of railways past and to come, Mr. Connell says (and he will correct me if I state his argument wrongly) that railways have been made and will be made, and after they are made they will leave the population to meet increased food prices with diminished wages. Now I desire, and I would like very much to know where Mr. Connell finds grounds for that statement.

Mr. CONNELL: In the Famine Commissioners' Report the rise of food-prices and stagnation of wages are pointed out, part I, pp. 66-7. Wages have risen only under very exceptional conditions.

Mr. BULLEN-SMITH: I speak from a considerable experience in India as a large employer of labour both at the Presidency capital and in the Mofussil, and I state as an undoubted fact that, notwithstanding railways, there has been found to be a steady and progressive increase in wages. Those who will take the figures of to-day and compare them with the figures of twenty-five years ago for coolie wages, the wages of the very lowest class of the people, will find the truth of what I remark; and nowhere is this more apparent than in the district where single lines of railways have pierced their way, and where perhaps it might have been thought that the view of Mr. Connell would hold good. If we take Eastern Bengal, where up to quite recently we have had but one line of railway, namely the Eastern line of Bengal running from Calcutta to Goalundo, if we take that line which has been in existence for the last fifteen years, we find amongst the ryots in that part of Eastern Bengal a state of prosperity such as they never knew before, and such as is unknown in other parts of India, and you will find in refectories of the indigo planter and in the great jute mills, wherever you go, a steady tendency to increase in the price of labour; again, this is a curious thing, and I mention it as bearing a little upon the views of the people themselves towards these railway lines of communication. I have observed running throughout this paper of Mr. Connell's a sort of impression that the people are having these lines of railway forced upon them. I think it is of the utmost importance in Associations of this kind that we should endeavour to see what are the wishes of the people themselves. When I say the wishes of the people, I do not use the hackneyed phrase, "the dumb millions," for anyone acquainted with India knows that the "dumb millions" have no wishes at all, or at least never express any. I hope some day they will have, but everyone knows that at present their voice is not to be heard; but I am talking of the men whom we are calling upon now to conduct local municipalities and so forth. What is the opinion of those? I had lately before me a proposal for a line of railway running through perhaps the most densely populated district of Bengal or any other part of India, where the road is perfectly good at all seasons of the year, bridged throughout; in fact, as good a road as there is to be found in Lower Bengal, a road twenty miles in length going from Tarakessur, in Hooghly, to near the station at Serampore. It struck me that if there ever was a road in which

people should be content, here is one. Yet what is the cry that comes up from that neighbourhood? "Give us a railway! we cannot carry about our produce fast enough; the hakri of twenty years ago does not suffice to carry for us to-day; we must have a railway." These, I think, are matters which have to be borne in mind, and I hope Mr. Connell will think them over and, at all events, see that he is quite sure of his ground before he makes such a very vast statement as that the introduction and carrying on, and furtherance of Indian railways can only be at the cost of the wages of the people. To my mind the railway system of India presents itself in three lights. The first is the strategical one, and no doubt Mr. Connell himself admits that the country must be kept quiet, and security preserved. You, Sir, in 1857, in the midst of your arduous labours in Calcutta receiving and forwarding British troops where every company of red-coats was so to speak worth its weight in gold. You, Sir, and none better, know what a heart-breaking thing it was to you to think that when you had put those men in the carriages for Ranigunge on their way to the North-West, after they had gone 120 miles at thirty miles an hour, they would have for the rest of the journey to go by dakgharry at seven or eight. Is it too much to say that if we had had a railway open from Calcutta right up Delhi, the whole face of the mutiny would have been changed?—it is not too much to say that its duration would have been shortened, and its miseries enormously lessened. This line from the presidency town to Delhi was no doubt very costly. It was a first experiment, and, as is the case with most experiments, mistakes were made, and great cost was gone to; yet this line, and similar trunk lines which are absolutely necessary for the protection of the country, and which enable us to hold it with a smaller military force than otherwise we could, these lines it is which mainly swell that volume of cost which Mr. Connell so much grudges. Then, secondly, it seems to me that we should look at the railway system in connection with famines. It seems to me that what Mr. Connell would desire is "As you were" in all things, and I think he inclines far too much to trust to what he calls the provision which was made in private houses for the famine of bygone days. We know enough of the famine of bygone days, even by the imperfect data that have come down to us, to be assured that the loss of life was terrible; and we know that there must have been smaller famines and periods of partial scarcity, the sad details of which have not come down to us. But the case is very different now. Everything is known, and, having this knowledge, has the Indian Government no duty to make provision against famine? Will Mr. Connell, after the experience of the Orissa famine

and the famine in Rajpootana and the famine in Madras, tell us that roads, often impassable for many months of the year, or rivers of difficult and uncertain navigation, are sufficient? Can Mr. Connell really hold that it would be a fit thing for the Government of India to content itself with these means of communication? Can he for a moment contend that the line running through barren Rajpootana is not a wise provision? Can he contend that the last partial famine in the north-west would have been met with the celerity which prevented its assuming the character of famine, except for the facilities of carrying food by rail, and can he doubt that if another famine were to happen at Orissa, it would be a fearful reproach to the Government of India that we should be obliged to say that as the famine found us there in 1865-6, so it found us now. What took place then? There were ample stores of food in the country behind. There were ample stores of food in vessels on the coast, but the south-west monsoon was on: the roads from Midnapore could not be used, because the rains were on; and the people died in millions—in hundreds of thousands at least almost within sight of food. What would then have been the value of a railway, such as has been lately projected, coming through the central province with feeders running down to Orissa and Cuttack. Then, thirdly, looking at the railway system for general purposes, I really cannot attempt to follow Mr. Connell. I have hitherto been foolish enough to think that if you enable people to travel quickly, and easily and cheaply from one place to another, if you can bring the surplus of one zillah, and make it cheaply and easily saleable in another, that is a good and laudable thing to do, and a thing which savours of good government. But it seems that I am wrong, and really I have not the time to go into it. This I will say with reference to the appointment of this Parliamentary Committee. I think that many mistakes have been made in railway procedure, and that it will behove the Committee to be very careful. It seems to me that their chief function will be not by any means to check or rescind the present meagre expenditure; but to devise a system of railways for India; some good and wise system, by which we shall not have repeated there what took place in this country, where lines are made side by side with each other, and the general weal entirely lost sight of. If this Committee, which is about to sit, should recommend to the Government of India a really good system of railways, I still venture to think, with all deference to Mr. Connell, that it will do something towards increasing what has so far not been a curse, but a great blessing to that great country. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. YUSOOF KHAN (of the Punjaub) said he agreed with the preceding speaker that the railways in the lower provinces of India had been useful to the people there in every way, but the conditions of the Punjaub and Oude country were altogether different. That was a fertile and well-irrigated country, and wheat was grown very largely. People who had not been to India generally put all Indians down as eating rice; but the people of the Punjaub did not live only on rice. And there was this change which had come over those people in consequence of the introduction amongst them of Western civilization. Instead of tilling the ground, and looking after agricultural interests, the ambition was to become railway servants or something else in Government employment. Of course, the Indian people could always rely on the generous aid of England in times of famine. In a desert place like the lower part of Bengal, for instance, railways might be beneficial; but he contended that in a fertile country like the Punjaub, where there was already a single line of railway (Scinde, Punjaub and Delhi), it was folly to provide further railway accommodation which was not absolutely necessary. He referred particularly to the Oude and Rohilcund Railway, which was now going direct from Allyghar through Lucknow *viâ* Mogulseria Benares to join the East Indian Railway. That was to afford greater facilities for the transport of agricultural produce; but the Punjaub people preferred to send their wheat and grain and so forth by hackries, and did not require any further railways. There was this difficulty about transport by rail. The mahajun, who sent his wheat, &c., on to Calcutta or Bombay for conveyance to the European markets, found that, in the course of their carriage to the port, there was great loss owing to the trans-shipment, the bags were opened and half the wheat, &c., &c., gone. That was one great reason why the Punjaub people preferred the old modes of conveyance to the railway. Another reason for their aversion to railways was the compulsory powers they had of acquiring land. Of course, compensation was given, but generally there was great dissatisfaction, and, speaking from his knowledge of the feelings of his fellow-countrymen in the Punjaub, he certainly deprecated any further railway extension there. The poorer class of natives do prefer walking their daily stages, and doing their journey, as they cannot afford to pay their railway fares.

Mr. EDWARD J. WATHERSTON said that he was one of those who fully agreed with Mr. John Bright, that if a country be possessed of a fertile soil, capable of varied productions, and if the people of that country be blessed with ingenuity for manufacturing purposes,

but if, at the same time, the people were found in extreme destitution and suffering, the chances are that there is some fundamental error in the Government of that country. Fully agreeing with Mr. Kimber that Indians who could borrow at 5 per cent. in London would be foolish were they to borrow in India at 10, 12, or 20 per cent., and also with some of his remarks in reference to railways, he (Mr. Watherston) could not concur with him when he took exception to the statement in the paper that the railways took the crops and left the people behind. It was well known that this was a fact, for the very good reason that the people—the masses—in India could not afford to pay railway fares. There was another point upon which Mr. Kimber was in error, viz., that the Government fostered every kind of industry. He (Mr. Watherston) was in a position to contradict this. The art industries of India were dependent to a large extent for their foundation, or ornamentation, upon the precious metals. There was another fact known to all Anglo-Indians drawing their incomes from India, viz., that at present the value of the raw material was much depreciated, 1s 7½d being the value of every rupee. The Indian Government lose upon every penny in the depreciated value of the rupee 37 crores, 77 lakhs, and 960 rupees. Again, in 1886, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales intends to hold an exhibition, in London, of the art industries of Her Majesty's Colonial and Indian possessions. Speaking at the closing ceremonial of the Fisheries Exhibition, the Prince of Wales said: "With this object in view, I shall hope for the hearty co-operation of our fellow-subjects the people of India, in order that an important section of that Exhibition may be truly representative of the art industries of that empire." The point he (Mr. Watherston) desired to bring before the meeting was this: India was especially gifted in the manufacture of articles composed of the precious metals; secondly, there was a depreciation in the value of the raw material seriously affecting the currency; and yet at the same time, such goods as he had described were absolutely prohibited for the purpose of sale in the United Kingdom. The Government maintained a most impolitic tax, and prohibitory laws relating to Hall-marking. He considered it important to bring the subject before the meeting when a paper was under discussion the object of which was the development of the Indian trade.

The Rev. Dr. WAINWRIGHT: Mr. Chairman,—I had no intention of addressing this meeting until I heard the speech of Mr. Bullen-Smith, but I think it important to emphasize some of the statements he made. He said that if time allowed, and if this were the proper

place, he could have refuted not a few of the statements made by the writer of this paper. I think that is a most important thing coming from a gentleman of our friend's experience and large knowledge. It seems to me to be a rather harsh thing to say that of a gentleman who has expended so much pains and who has himself evidently shown so much sympathy with the object, the most benovolent and praiseworthy object, which he has in view. I hope, however, that the writer of the paper will not take it as harsh. I should like him to believe me second to no gentleman in the room in my high estimation of the attention he has given to the subject, and the facility with which he has placed before us in a very lucid and luminous way the facts that he has adduced. But I do not think it is greatly to be regretted (and it is only this feeling that has stung or impelled me to speak) that Mr. Connell has come to the conclusions which he here advances. I do not want to use words so strong as those employed by one gentleman (Mr. Kimber) this evening, but I do think that it would be calamitous for the poorer classes of the people of India itself if they should really come by any means whatever or at any future time to be possessed of the idea to which the writer of the paper has given expression, viz., that there exists in Great Britain or in the Empire a lack of sympathy with them in their poverty, or any sort of indifference towards any measures whatever that might be justly and wisely proposed for the amelioration of their condition. He says (on page 109): "It may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that no government, since history began, ever held such awful powers of life and death." Perfectly true; but then there is a counterpart to that, which the writer of the paper has forgotten to add. It may be asserted with equal truth that since history began no power holding such authority has ever wielded it in a manner so praiseworthy, and characterized by such unquestionable philanthropy. I say, and I challenge successful contradiction, that their never was an empire that held such an appanage with such good result; indeed, no empire ever had an appanage like that of India. India is a general word to denote a population of two hundred and fifty millions of people, speaking thirty different languages, a country having every variety of produce. And what is said here? On page 113 there is this: "Wherever we have superseded, instead of supervising, native officials and head men, wherever we have poisoned the social organism with English reforms." Really I think that this sort of what Thackeray would call "high falutin," is very calamitous. What do you mean when you talk of English reforms? You mean the transition from the inferior to the superior, from a less desirable to a more desirable condition; and I should think that to accomplish that is not to poison the organism but really

to disinfect it; instead of poisoning the native organism with English reform it is purifying it by the light of the best native traditions. What would have been the effect of the best native traditions? We are told here what history says about India. What was India before we acquired it? Look at the warlike tribes; see how the strong preyed upon the weak; see what internecine dissensions there were. I say that he is a benefactor to his species who makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before, and I say that the English acquisition of India—or conquest I will call it if you like, as it is called a “conquered country” in the paper—has been, I will say, not merely of greater benefit to India than to England, but of unquestionable benefit to India itself, and that is all that it is necessary for my argument. There is one other matter I want to draw attention to here. On page 108 Mr. Connell says that “For under the pressure of “irresistible force the one form of organization which for centuries “remained stable amid the shocks of chance is beginning to dissolve.” Now, if the writer instead of saying remained “stable,” had said it continued stagnant, I should have thoroughly agreed with him. The truth is that what we are doing is sweeping away the stagnant condition and the pestilential miasma arising from that stagnant condition. It was high time that that stagnation should be broken up; it has been broken up, and with the most beneficial results. I presume that the gentleman behind me (Mr. Bagnall), who spoke of Ireland, cannot be ignorant of the fact that it is not the fault of successive English Governments if certain portions of Ireland are in a backward condition, but it is the fault of the operation of certain forces in Ireland that have steadfastly and strenuously resisted the beneficial enterprises of the Government. (“Oh, oh,” and “Question.”)

The CHAIRMAN: I think we are wandering a little from the subject. I suppose you are alluding to Ireland in order to point out some similar circumstances in India; but I think we had much better keep to the question before us.

The Rev. Dr. WAINWRIGHT: I thought it quite within my province to draw attention to this; that we were misled when we were taken by Mr. Bagnall to Ireland, because the conditions of that country are totally different from those of India. Now I only want to add, that while there is no question as to the ability which the writer of this paper has shown, there are fallacies sown broadcast over its pages. On page 108, he begins a sentence by saying, “If good roads are made.” Well, are not railways the best of roads? In

England, and in fact anywhere else, we cannot keep clear of what might be called the desecration of some of the most picturesque spots. It is pleaded that it is in the interests of the rural community themselves that you sacrifice the picturesque and ideal beauties for the sake of better means of communication; and I consider that whatever is beneficial to the English, or Scotch, or Irish peasant, cannot be detrimental to the Indian ryot. Therefore in extending railways we are doing the very best thing; and when Mr. Connell says we are doing it in the interests of our own Government, I say no; it is in the interests of our native population. You carry out your works for the irrigation of the country in order to prevent the recurrence of famines; why should you not do there what they have done in fact in the far west? A wise government comes and screws the wheatsheaf on to the steam-engine, and brings wheat from the far west to the population that need it in the east, and take back the surplus population from the overcrowded east away to the bounteous west. Why should not you devise similar facilities in India? I have only to add that I think the object with which this Society exists, and the object it has in view, is a sufficient refutation of the fallacies contained in this paper. It is deeply to be regretted that the writer has fallen into those fallacies to the extent of violating the proverb that says, "It is an ill bird that fouls its own nest." I do not like this depreciation of English benevolence and philanthropy. There is a growing idea (and I hope I am not out of order in saying this) that we should always depreciate our own country. I am too much of an Englishman for that, and I cannot fall in with it; and when Mr. Connell says here that it is not more science but more sympathy that is wanted, I quite agree; but it reminds one of the story of a Quaker who went about soliciting subscriptions for a baker who was in difficulties; when a man said to him, "I am very sorry;" he said, "I am sorry £10; how much art thou sorry?" I say you must take your science there as well as your sympathy. You must take all your improved appliances; and since, in the development of the resources of modern civilization, the railway bears an essential and prominent part, you must steadily and strenuously maintain a policy of railway extension in India.

Dr. LEITNER: Mr. Chairman,—I think we are all indebted to Mr. Connell for his paper because it has given rise to a discussion from which much may be learnt, and has elicited full and fair opinions on both sides of the question. We should be thankful, I think, not only to Mr. Connell, but also to Mr. Kimber and the other gentlemen who have taken part in this discussion, for assisting in helping on the

work of this Association, which is to discover "the whole truth," and in the service of the whole truth I do not think that anything that is in parliamentary language can be considered as "calamitous;" for, after all, even if not exactly true, it is all assumed to be put forward in the spirit of truth, and must eventually help our object. Having said this, it seems to me that when we either praise the efforts of this country in India, or when we deprecate those efforts, our standards vary. If you describe all that this country has done for India (and I do not suppose any foreign country has ever done more for another), then you have a great deal to praise. If, on the other hand, you are still more sympathetic, and look at what is left *undone* rather than at what has been done, you have a great deal to criticize; so that really, when we complain of the want of sympathy of Englishmen with Indians, we put ourselves in the position of those who wish for *more* sympathy, so that even our opponents would agree that what we are desiring is just. Of course, we cannot have enough sympathy; we cannot have enough knowledge, and as one speaker said very rightly, we cannot have enough charity. With those three things, sympathy which I think is even a greater motive power than knowledge; knowledge of indigenous customs and languages, and charity certainly shown in the practical manner which has been pointed out, we can alone be assumed to govern well, but we can never trust to our patriotism alone in the investigation of an Indian question or merely look back to what has already been done by us for India. I think that "Excelsior" has to be written on the standards of the best and most philanthropic of nations. Coming to the points that are mentioned here; although the construction of railways no doubt benefits certain classes, it is in some districts, doubtless, not a benefit to certain classes. Whereas the carrying away of the grain from one part of the country to another, has had the effect of bringing that supply where it was wanted, it is perfectly easy to assume with the Punjaub speaker that it may on certain occasions have deprived that one part of its supply. All these things must be taken together with place and circumstances, and of course it also includes the standpoint of the speaker himself, his own interest in the matter and his own prejudices. I do not mean to say for a moment that his views would be completely warped, but his standpoint should be understood and appreciated, and I hope generously appreciated. All these things have to be borne in mind together. I believe that all the gentlemen who have spoken have said something that was true so far as it went, and it is only when we get all these statements together that we can arrive at the totality of the truth. Then as to the storage of grain.

It is perfectly true that if under the Mogul Empire a calamity like a famine had struck a distant province, the absence of speedy communications, such as are now provided by railways, would be greatly to be regretted, but it is also true that if even under so hard a rule as that of Aurungzeb, a famine had broken out within the easy reach of the Imperial power, the existing grain-stores would have been an advantage. So it very much depends where we apply our remarks. If we were to come to what has been recently suggested and what had previously been run down, viz., the storage of grain at the important railway centres, we might perhaps facilitate English commerce as well as enable the natives to go to those great stores. It has lately been suggested that this should be done at stations on the Scinde, Punjaub and Delhi line. Well, with all deference to the very scientific manner in which Mr. Kimber and others have treated the subject, I consider that the truest science is the one that proceeds from within. If you proceed on indigenous methods and methods known to the people of the country and then develop those in the direction of the spirit of the age and of surrounding needs, you do the right thing; but if you go to a country like India and look at it as a *tabula rasa*, your best intentions may often fail, and instead of your canals bringing water and life to parched districts they may turn up the nitre of the soil and ruin a number of agricultural parts which formerly flourished. We must constantly, at every moment (if you will excuse my making this remark), put ourselves in the position both of learners and of teachers. Whatever may be our position in India, there is not one in which we may not learn something. Even those who represent the most advanced section of mechanical and applied sciences will, if they possess an attentive and receptive mind, learn a great deal from the ancient methods of India. Our medicine has a great deal to learn, our engineering has a great deal to learn. It seems strange that this should be said in an European assembly, but I think that those whose minds are large enough to be open to the reception of truth from whatever quarter it comes, even the most eminent members of the profession I have mentioned, will admit that there was much in the ancient methods, and there naturally must be, which recommend themselves to our attention and consideration. Now about the buying up of stocks. It has been said that this shows the great credit that India enjoys. I am very sorry that Mr. Kimber has left, because he would have thrown perhaps further light upon this matter. He would have checked some remarks that I am about to make, and at any rate we should have arrived at a more satisfactory conclusion; but I could not help thinking that his statement was not altogether proved to my

mind, considering the present methods of financing in Europe. You can buy almost any stock on any Stock Exchange. It does not argue a bit more for the prosperity of the Turkish loan that you can get those bonds at a somewhat better rate at Vienna than you can in London. I do not quite see the point Mr. Kimber sought to make. Again, he spoke about the Russians coming here to buy back their own stock. Well, those purchases sometimes depend on certain commercial and other facilities. You buy them where you best can. If there were, *e.g.*, great difficulties put in the way of brokers at St. Petersburg—

The CHAIRMAN: I think you somewhat misapprehend what Mr. Kimber pointed out. It was that the Russian Government being a poor government, and that being a poor country such as India, the Russians in the first instance applied to England to obtain their money. Having obtained the money from England to construct their railways, they are now benefiting so far by the construction of railways that they are coming to England to buy back as it were their own stock.

Dr. LEITNER: The stock being held by the English, it seems natural—

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, but they are obliged to come here in the first instance to get the money advanced; and Mr. Kimber says the same thing will occur in India; that Indians are now buying up stock which really had been advanced by Englishmen.

Dr. LEITNER: Quite so; but not, as yet, to a great extent.

Mr. CONNELL: Certainly not. (*See note on page 114.*)

Dr. LEITNER: Reverting to the Russians, England being the most prosperous country and presumably possessing to a far greater degree enterprise and commercial interests than it may be said without disparagement is claimed by Russia, it is reasonable that they should come here. It was new to me that the landed proprietors of India could borrow money here at five per cent. I may say that I am well acquainted with the chief of our provinces, and if Mr. Kimber had only not left, or had left his address, or the address of the persons willing to advance money to Indian customers at five per cent., I am quite certain that there are many solvent and

loyal landowners and wealthy chiefs in the Punjaub and others who are occasionally obliged to borrow money at far higher interest than he mentioned, and who would gladly take advantage of the good offices of Mr. Kimber. With reference to the poverty of India, I suppose it is not unnatural that some districts of such a vast country should be poorer than others. I would only mention this one thing more. We must not take every statement quite literally. We must not take this passage in Mr. Connell's paper, for instance, entirely in its literal meaning: "Wherever we have superseded instead of supervising "native officials and headmen, wherever we have poisoned the social "organism with English reforms, instead of purifying it by the light "of the best native traditions, there the seeds of demoralization and "disaster have been sown broadcast." We must take such a passage *cum grano*, or in its fair general sense. There is not the least doubt that the best reform if misapplied would work infinite mischief; I do not know that Mr. Connell means more than that. To take a homely simile, even the edible parts that compose a pudding may produce an indigestible result; but supposing you have component parts each or one of which is inedible, the result would be still worse. Yet all these constituent parts would be good in their place. Dirt is said to be matter in the wrong place; what is one man's food may be another man's poison; and why could not reforms work the greatest mischief if put in the wrong place! Nobody can deny that with the best intentions we have often worked very, very great mischief, for instance, as Mr. Connell has pointed out, in educational matters. There we had an indigenous system ready to hand; we ought to have developed that. There was a minimum of thirty-three thousand schools in the province with which I am connected, the Punjaub before annexation. I was put on special duty with regard to eliciting these facts. Well, the supersession of those schools by the Government school and by a bureaucratic department, however much it might, erroneously, have been deemed to be a political advantage, does not certainly appear to me to have for a better course than to have taken the existing schools and to have developed them in the spirit of the age with a view of identifying the learned and priestly and land-holding classes with the maintenance of Government, so as to closely knit our and their interests together, they being the natural leaders of the people. It seems to me that a reform from within would have been better than ignoring the existing state of things. (Applause.)

Mr. A. K. CONNELL: Mr. Chairman,—I am sorry that Mr. Kimber is not here because he has taken us to about every point

of the Western hemisphere, and spoken of platitudes and philosophy, and applied his experience chiefly drawn from Italy, Russia, and America, to India, about which he knows very little. That sort of philosophy, and that sort of platitude seems to me to be hardly worthy of much attention, but still I will take some of the more salient points of his address. In the first place let me take the question of railway capital and wages, and so on. Sir Orfeur Cavenagh and Mr. Martin Wood both say, "Here you have an excellent means of communication, as we think it, in England; why not have it in India?" But let me point out some of the differences. In the first place (and this is a point which Mr. Kimber ignored) a railway differs from a road in that a road is a mere means of communication, whereas a railway is a means of communication *plus* the instrument of a carrying trade. If you make a road through a particular district, anyone may run his carts upon it "for profitable use," as I said. If you have a river, anyone may have his boat upon it, as he may have his ship upon the sea. But if you have a railway, only those people who possess the railway apparatus can run on it, and it is a distinct monopoly in the sense that a road is not, and the profits of such monopoly go to the people who invest in that monopoly. In the case of the Indian railways, the investors live in England, and therefore all the profits on those railways, those monopolies, go out of the country to England; they are not distributed in India amongst the people; they do not go back again as in the case of railway investments in England, but they go out of the country. Take the case of the wages, too. It is said: "But then there is a large wage fund; the railways earn so much, and they distribute it among native workmen." No, I say again. About half the money which is spent upon wages is not paid to native workmen, but is given to English *employés*, or sent to England for coals, or carriages, or rails.

Mr. BULLEN-SMITH: No, no.

Mr. A. K. CONNELL: I will prove it to you afterwards, if you like. Now, supposing our English railways had been built out of French capital, and that all the profits of our railway system went to France, and that all the iron that was required for their construction came from France, and a large part of the wages were earned by Frenchmen, do you suppose that there would not be an enormous difference in the economic results of railway construction in England? Sir Orfeur Cavenagh instanced what had happened in England, and said, that if you destroyed the trade of coaches, and so on, you would

have railways, and the men would find work again there. Yes, I say, if the profits and the wages are all distributed in England; of course the men who were in the coaches get a new source of income, and people who have their capital invested in the coaches can then invest it in railways, but there is an enormous difference between England and India.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not think I said that. What I said was, that each railway gave employment, and that we have double the number of horses, and double the number of men now, that we had before in the old stage coaching days; therefore it is extra employment. It was not the regular employment I was referring to.

Mr. CONNELL: Well, it is said that there are more horses and carts employed in India now since railways were made than before. I doubt the fact. On the main arteries of trade, I doubt it entirely, and I would prove what I say from the Famine Blue Books. (See Part II, page 99.) As regards the minor routes I should say yes, there is some truth, a good deal of truth in that; but I maintain that a large amount of this traffic along the road, and along the railway, is due to the burden of taxation and debt, and is undesirably stimulated. I have undertaken to prove it in my paper, and no one to-day has tried to disprove that point. I have given a lot of figures, I have shown what is the relation between the growing wheat trade and the increased taxes, the local cesses, and the like. I have shown that there is a most intimate connection between the two, and unless some one can dispute what I say you may have all this grain going along in carts more than before, employing more ships and so on, and yet the people may be worse off. And what is my proof? I will quote from Dr. Hunter, the editor of *The Official Gazetteer of India*. What does he say? Does he say that the people are more prosperous? Does he say that the result of this growing wheat-trade is to fill the pockets of the natives? No. He says that there are forty millions of natives, chiefly labourers and the poorer cultivators, who only in good years know what it is to have half a belly-full daily; and I say that in a country which is exporting food to the extent which India is exporting it, even in good years, while forty millions of people—a population larger than that of the United Kingdom—are half starved, there must be something wrong. We must remember that there was a similar case in Ireland during the famine of 1846, when there were large exports of wheat at the very time when the masses of the people were starving. If any one can disprove that, if any one will show me

that these statements of mine are false, I am willing to withdraw them, but no one has tried to disprove them. That is a statement made by Dr. Hunter, a member of the Viceroy's Council, and the editor of *The Official Gazetteer*. What does Sir James Caird say in his book about the Gangetic Doab? "Whatever may be the cause, men of experience have seen little improvement in the condition of the cultivators; the great expenditure in railways and canals has left them just as it found them." Then, in another part of the book, I find just the same statement. Is it, then, true that forty millions of people are on half commons in good years? And if they are so in good years, what happens in time of famine? The numbers must be largely increased, and I say that the wheat or the grain that is going out of India during those good years will, when the next year of drought comes, be wanting, and we shall not be able to get it back. Whatever will be then imported will be imported at double or quadruple price, as it was during the last famine. The railways may bring it, but if it is too dear for the people to buy it, who is to advance the money? The Government. And what does the Government of India mean, but the Indian taxpayer?

Dr. YUSOOF KHAN: The poorer class of people can hardly afford now to get even a cake of wheat. They can fill their bellies, I may say, with a halfpenny-worth of Indian corn, which is cheap enough, and a bucket of water, and keep themselves for twenty-four hours. On this account the poor class could not afford to pay for railways, and preferred walking.

Mr. CONNELL: If that is true, it is one of the most gigantic and appalling facts that we have to deal with in the case of India. Then comes another question. Have the railways helped to destroy the industry of the country? Has anyone got up and said that I am wrong upon that point? No one; not even Mr. Kimber, with all his philosophies and platitudes; and I would undertake to prove, from the Famine Commissioners' Report, and from Sir George Birdwood's "Industrial Arts of India," that an enormous wage fund has been taken away from India by the destruction of the old modes of communication. Sir James Caird points out in his book, and in his "Memorandum on the condition of India," that when and where those industries have been destroyed, our difficulties in famine time are so much increased; the wage fund is gone; the only wage fund is agricultural, and agriculture in the time of drought ceases. Then I take another point. If India is to have railways constructed from money borrowed

in England, the borrowing is conducted by the Indian Government; therefore the debt is practically forced upon India. It is not like a debt incurred by any self-governed country, such as Italy, for instance, or ourselves or any of our colonies: it is incurred by an alien government, and I say that it is a very great danger indeed when an alien government takes to borrowing *ad libitum*. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution the other day recommending that twenty millions a year should be borrowed for the railways. Sir Lepel Griffin, who is a great authority on Indian matters, lately gave it as his opinion that there ought to be ten times the amount of railways in India, that is to say, 100,000 miles of lines. I say it is a most dangerous thing for the Indian Government to go on borrowing in this way. Then I think Mr. Martin Wood pointed out what he called certain inaccuracies. I think on further examination he will find that they are only very slight inaccuracies, if any at all, especially if he takes into consideration the rupee debt at Calcutta, which practically forces India to remit more than appears in the public accounts. In reality, the action of the Indian Government will bring the figure, as a rule, up to the sum stated, and especially if we take into consideration the loss by exchange. Then as regards famines and railways. I do not deny that during the last famine the railways did bring large quantities of food into certain districts, but I maintain that those railways had helped to take away food before. These people had grown the food and the food had been exported. They were tempted by higher prices and partly pressed by taxation to sell their stock, and the railway brought it back, and brought it back at a very heavy price. I doubt myself very much indeed whether it is more economical for the peasantry of India to buy grain back at the present prices during the famine times than it is for them to store it up as they used to do in the old days. Here I would say a word or two about the famines in the days of the Mogul Empire. Mr. Bullen-Smith, as I understand, says that there is evidence of just as much loss of life in those times as now. Well let us have the facts out. I am perfectly willing to be converted by them, but I have not been able to discover those facts. I have read through all the Blue Books, and I cannot find that there is any distinct evidence of such enormous loss of life as took place during the last famine. No doubt there was scarcity here and there; but I believe, with a careful adjustment of the land-tax to the state of the crops, and with the aid of storage, they were enabled to meet those years of scarcity unless pillaged by war, and the famines to which I have referred in my notes, are famines due distinctly to the action of the English Government in India, and

are not attributable to the results of native rule pure and simple. Then even in those very districts where railways brought food was there no loss of life? Mr. Bullen-Smith quotes the instance of the North-West Province famine. I was there just after the famine. Why, a million and a quarter of people died at the time of the famine, and a million of people died of fever the year afterwards.

Mr. BULLEN-SMITH: I mean the last North-West famine, not Colonel Baird-Smith's famine.

Mr. CONNELL: I mean the last, that of 1877-78.

Mr. BULLEN-SMITH: Very few people died in that.

Mr. CONNELL: I beg pardon. I can prove to you out of the Blue Book that a million and a quarter of people died. (*See "Famine Commissioners' Report," Part I, page 20.*) You cannot contradict Blue Books nor official figures. Then as regards the Madras famine, in the same way there was an enormous loss of life in spite of the railways.

Mr. BULLEN-SMITH: But it would have been very much greater but for the railways.

Mr. CONNELL: I quite agree with you that the railways took food, but the railways have caused taxation in the first place. The Madras railways do not earn half their guaranteed interest, and therefore have forced the people to sell the food which they might have kept against times of famine. If you do not take into consideration the taxation in the shape of local cesses and higher salt-tax caused by railways, you do not take into account the most material point.

The CHAIRMAN: You are referring to a famine which took place before railways existed.

Mr. CONNELL: No, I am not; but I may add I have looked at Colonel Baird-Smith's report on the previous famine of 1837. He distinctly puts down a large amount of the suffering to the excessive rigour with which the land-tax was assessed.

The CHAIRMAN: Do you mean the famine of 1837?

Mr. CONNELL: There is a report of Colonel Baird-Smith upon that very famine some years after (*see Parliamentary Return,*

No. 29 of 1862), and he says that it was largely due to the badness of our fiscal system. If you will investigate the history of the famines which occurred before railways were introduced, you will find that there is an intimate connection between the collection of the land-tax and the famines. The question to be considered is not so much how the railways may be able to bring food at an enormous expense, but how we can bring about those conditions which will prevent any famine at all occurring. As regards the military aspect of railways, I admit that we must not overlook the strategical advantages; but we must remember this, that if you put on taxation for railways, this taxation creates a great deal of discontent, and you have the danger of an outbreak, especially if the number of people who pass through life on half rations is being continually added to. Then again, during any disturbance, it is very possible that the lines of railways would not be found so very useful for transporting troops as people imagine. No doubt, while India is quiet they are useful for a war in Afghanistan, and so on; but we cannot be certain that they would be so useful in the case of a general disturbance in India. What I would say, in conclusion, is that it is most important that we should in every way consider the native wants and the native ways, and that we should not break down their self-reliance and encourage them to think they could come upon the Government in famine times. They should look ahead for themselves and provide against future years of trouble. When it is said that I have offered no remedy at all, I think the gentleman who has said that can hardly have read my notes where I have made a large number of suggestions. I should like to have gone on to answer more fully some of the objections. I can only again refer my opponents to the Famine Blue Books; but I am afraid the hour is too late to go into all the points discussed. Certainly I cannot see that my main position has been shaken.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Although I am afraid that there are many of you who will not fully concur with Mr. Connell, I think all of us will fully appreciate the motive by which he has been actuated. His motive certainly is a good one, and it is really the same as that which has always actuated this Association, viz., the improvement of the condition of the people of India. On that score alone, whatever we may say with regard to his argument, I think we are bound to acknowledge the obligation that we owe him, and I am certain I am only expressing your own feelings when I ask him to accept our thanks for the very interesting paper which he has read, and for the discussion which has followed.

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER (late Commissioner of Patna): Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before you close this meeting, I have to propose something which I am sure will meet with a cordial reception from you. Considering the extreme gravity and the importance of the great question before you, upon which there has been every variety of opinion, and probably will be for the next twenty years, I am quite sure that we can appreciate the patience and kindness of our Chairman, General Sir Orfeur Cavenagh. With regard to the question itself, I should never have ventured to make any remarks upon it. I think it is one upon which each one of us, after twelve months' careful study, would be more qualified to speak than we are now, but there was only one matter upon which I would like two or three words. I observe at the end of one of the pages a proposal for the establishment of a standing Committee of the House of Commons. Now whether it has any immediate connection with this I cannot quite follow; but all I can say is, that fifteen years ago I had the honour of specially pointing out the necessary imperfections of the Council of India in regard to all questions of this kind. I will not dwell upon that now, particularly as it might appear to be somewhat in my own immediate interests, which are connected with the action of the Council, but at the same time I think we must all feel that in great and important questions of this kind, the secrecy, and the absence of responsibility with which these matters are investigated and conducted in the Council of India, where each man has a very comfortable room to himself and his own particular hobby to accomplish, is not a species of investigation which the English nation should demand. However, that is merely a temporary matter, and I will not dwell upon it any more. I beg now to propose that the thanks of this meeting be proposed to General Sir Orfeur Cavenagh for his admirable conduct at this meeting.

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD: May I just mention this circumstance with regard to the question whether there is an available supply of wheat for export. There was a question put by Sir George Balfour to which Mr. Secretary Cross gave a very full reply with certain important statistics which should be looked at. I have corresponded with Sir George Balfour upon the point.

Mr. CONNELL: I have also written to Sir George on this point. For rise of prices in last fifteen years see Administration Reports, especially that of the Punjab for 1882-83. For the causes of the Orissa famine, I would refer to notes on pages 101 and 109. I have

on page 112, note, admitted the prosperity of Eastern Bengal; but I do not, like Mr. Bullen-Smith, attribute it solely to the railway. Nor do I object to "private enterprise" in railways. (See pages 112 and 113.)

Mr. JOHN SHAW: I have very much pleasure in seconding the proposal of a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and I must say that he is our own Chairman; and I am sure, though this meeting has not been so large as some that I have been present at, there have been most influential and important speakers, and the business has been conducted in a way very much more satisfactory than it has been conducted upon some previous occasions.

The motion was carried unanimously. The CHAIRMAN briefly replied. The sitting then terminated.



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EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,

Instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF INDIA.

PAPER BY H. G. KEENE, ESQ., C.I.E., M.R.A.S.,
FELLOW OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY,

READ AT A MEETING OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,
ON MONDAY, MAY 12, 1884.

COLONEL G. B. MALLESON, C.S.I.,
IN THE CHAIR.

A MEETING of the members and friends of the East India Association was held in the Council Room, Exeter Hall, on Monday afternoon, May 12, 1884, the subject for consideration being a paper read by H. G. Keene, Esq., C.I.E., M.R.A.S., Fellow of the Calcutta University, on "The North-West Frontier of India."

Colonel G. B. MALLESON, C.S.I., occupied the chair, and amongst those present were the following:—Right Hon. Lord Stanley of Alderley; General Lord Mark Kerr, K.C.B.; General Ommannay; General Swayne; Major-General R. M. Macdonald; Colonel Robarts; William Elton; Major Wilson Lynch; Mrs. Wilson Lynch; Mr. J. R. Bullen-Smith, C.S.I.; Rev. James Long; Rev. J. Crompton Sowerbutts and Mrs. Sowerbutts; Rev. Dr. Wainwright; Rev. F. C. and Mrs. Williamson; Surgeon-Major W. E. Allen; Mr. C. W. Arathoon; Dr. G. W. Leitner, LL.D.; Mr. F. J. Baily (Lahore); Mr. James Brodie; Mr. H. R. Coope; Mr. P. Alex. de Rozario; Mr. J. G.

Ferrand; Mrs. Holmes; Mr. C. Lalcaca; Mr. J. N. Lancaster; Mr. W. McGuffin; Mr. B. S. Mankar; Mr. C. Marvin; Mr. E. Watts Russell; Mr. W. S. Seton Karr; Mr. A. K. Settna; Mr. John Shaw (Madras); Mr. J. Sladen, B.C.S.; Mr. Berkeley Wall; Mr. E. Whyte; Mr. W. Martin Wood; Mr. W. Hamilton Burn (Secretary).

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said:—Ladies and gentlemen, it is my duty to call upon Mr. Keene to address you this evening. It is not necessary to introduce to you, I am sure, one whose services are so eminent, and I may say so distinguished, as those of Mr. Keene, both in India and in the empire of literature. There is scarcely a subject connected with the history of India upon which Mr. Keene has not written, and which he has not adorned. I am quite sure that in the remarks which he will address to you this afternoon he will awaken a great many thoughts which are lying dormant in the hearts of those Englishmen who are jealous of the honour and the greatness of their country. I shall ask you after he has sat down to comment as freely as you may upon the sentiments which will fall from him. I myself think it is unfair to a speaker to comment upon or to criticize his lecture before he has delivered it, and I shall therefore reserve the few remarks which I may have to make until after Mr. Keene shall have finished his lecture.

Mr. KEENE then read the following paper:—

At a time when men's minds are strained by anxieties about Egypt, I ought, perhaps, to crave indulgence for asking you to turn away your attention to a still more remote interest. Yet if Egypt have any permanent interest for us, it is mainly as the highway to our Indian estate. In that light the interest of India is still paramount.

The remarks that I am about to offer are not meant to have any political application. I shall assume that the Government of India is earnestly bent on protecting the country and tranquilizing the public mind. It will be my object to throw together a few facts acquired in a study of history, with a view of enabling you to judge how matters have grown into their existing condition, and then to offer a general application for discussion. I do not possess the advantage of personal knowledge of the frontier; nor do I profess to be a politician, nor to connect what I have to say with party views. Nor do I propose to go into the propriety of the Russian proceedings at Merv. They represent a *fait accompli* to which at least as much prominence has been given as was due.

ITALY.

India has been called "the Asian Italy." Like Italy, though on a far larger scale, it has a mountain barrier on the North; a vast sea-board on the South; rich and populous cities, fertile fields; vast natural resources. But India's barrier has a gate, while on the North-West side there is almost an open lane; and through these approaches hardy tribes from less productive regions have at various times been able to lay hands on her resources, pillage and massacre in her cities, and make settlements on her fields. The safety of Italy seems, for the present, guaranteed. In the first place, she enjoys a Home-government which is powerful and may become popular. In the second place, she is to some extent safe-guarded by the political needs of foreign powers and even by the comity of nations. How far is there similar security for her Asiatic countertype?

In protecting India from a renewal of those dangers from which she has formerly suffered, her British rulers made an effort in 1838. After the lapse of more than forty years she again found herself engaged in a like undertaking. The second act of the drama appeared to close by the review of the situation contained in *The Gazette of India* for the 9th August, 1879. In the dispatch of the Indian Government then published, after showing the perils of the past, there was given the following exposition:—

LYTTON.

"It is, we conceive, with a view to the prevention of these that the British Government . . . has at all times attached peculiar importance to the exclusion of foreign influence from Afghán and Bilueh territory. Guided by this . . . the invariable aim of its policy has been to secure the friendship, the confidence, and—in case of need—the co-operation of the sovereigns of Cábul and Khelát. But the measures by which this policy was carried out were baffled when, the Russian boundary having advanced to within 400 miles of the British border, emissaries from that power were believed to be intriguing with Sher Ali. In these circumstances the Government could no longer afford to contemplate with indifference the strategic defects of its North-Western frontier."

If this statement of the case had a substantial base of truth, that base was not shaken by subsequent events. The murder of the British Envoy, and the subsequent substitution of a bold soldier for the weak Amir in whose presence that murder was committed, may have given the Indian Government an ally whose friendship was better worth cultivating. But the strategic defects of the frontier did

not thereby become a subject to be contemplated with indifference. The strengthening of Peshawur and the line of the Indus, and the maintenance of a strong and accessible position towards Candahar, remained inevitable precautions for the "gate" and for the "lane."

DANGER.

The danger of neglecting to guard the approach to India from Khorasan and Turkestán has indeed always been evident. The Hindus invaded the country from that quarter in pre-historic times. Then came the Greeks, Bactrians, and Scythians; all of whom apparently used the upper route through the mountain passes. After the incursion of the Soghdian Scythians, about 90 B.C., the land had rest for many centuries. At length the warriors of the Crescent, flushed with religious zeal, invaded Sindh in the earlier years of the Hipa. They came from Mikrán, where natural difficulties were the least. But, on that side, at least, the danger has for the present passed away. Then in A.D. 1001 began the predatory incursions of Mahmud, the son of Sabaktigin, who came from Ghazni, by way of Multán and Baháwalpur. This route was repeatedly followed by Muslim and Mughol invaders in the succeeding centuries, down to the great irruption of the Amir Taimur—known in Europe as Tamerlane—in the end of the fourteenth century. These were temporary incursions, sometimes successfully repelled, sometimes withdrawn when the assailants, satiated with booty, retired spontaneously to their own land.

BÁBAR.

In 1526 a more memorable and more permanent invasion occurred, under that celebrated adventurer, Bábar. Settling in the country, he and his son founded, after some vicissitudes, the famous "Mughol Empire," of which the shadow existed down to 1857. Bábar was the ruler of Afghanistan when he invaded India; the earlier invaders had often come from remoter regions; but in all cases a firm grasp of Afghán territory had always formed a necessary basis for all their more successful attempts. Conscious of this fact the Emperors of Bábar's line endeavoured to retain the mastery of Cábul, Ghazni, and Candahar. Candahar was lost after being held off and on nearly 50 years. After the weakness introduced into the Empire by the restless fanaticism of Aurangzeb, the other points were lost also. The natural result followed. In 1730 Nadir Shah became paramount in Afghanistan, and a terrible invasion of Hindustán ensued; followed at intervals by others, under Ahmad Shah, who was accepted by Ghibzais and Abdalis as their ruler after Nadir's death.

At Ahmad's death his son Taimur succeeded peacefully to what was known as the Duráni Empire, and died in 1793, having no fewer than 23 sons and 13 daughters. A struggle ensued, in which the fifth son, Zamán Sháh, established his mastery by the aid of Payinda Khán, head of the Barukazai branch of the Abdális. Cábul was his capital, and Herat was annexed in or about 1800. The British Government was quiescent in India, paramount in the Persian Gulf. The Afghan questions slumbered for forty years, only once requiring to be gently fanned by Elphinstone's mission (directed rather against France than Russia.

THE KEYS.

It will now be clear to unprejudiced minds that the possessor of the lands which lie on the western side of Afghanistán holds one of the principal land approaches to India, though Cábul* is at least equally commanding; and that it is as necessary to the peace and welfare of Cábul itself as to the tranquillity of India that those approaches should be held by a friendly custodian. As Colonel Malleeson says, in the *Introduction* to his *History of Afghanistan*, "no invasion was possible "as long as Hindustán kept in her own hands the keys of her fortress, "the passes leading to her fertile plains:" but no great uneasiness need prevail within her borders if the sentry on the glacis was believed to be vigilant.

AUCKLAND.

We must not allow ourselves to be needlessly alarmed by fears of immediate invasion. Neither ought we to be deterred from aiming at an amicable influence in Afghanistan by thinking of the ill-success of Lord Auckland's attempt towards that object. For, in the first place, the circumstances were not then what they are now; in the next, there was a great error in that policy which need not be repeated. The conditions presented to Lord Auckland were these. The Russians had hardly crossed the Jaxartes; their head-quarters, instead of being at Tashkand, were at Orenburg. Russia had acquired no decided preponderance in Persia. Russia had no declared position of hostility—or even of rivalry—towards England. And, finally, India was separated from Afghanistan by the friendly but independent states of the Raja of Lahore, and the Amirs of Sindh. The case was evidently less pressing than it has since become. If any immediate action was,

* Cabul is the historical centre of Afghanistan. The Mughol Emperors generally went by Cabul to get to Candahar. Taimur and Nadir and Bábar all came to India that way.

however, to be taken, there was a powerful ruler at Cábul, not indisposed towards the Indian Government, and with great reason to respect its influence.

It cannot be necessary to go over fully the familiar tale of blunder and misfortune. The sons of the Barukzai chief, Payinda Khán, had dispossessed the Saduzai rulers, and the youngest and ablest of these sons had become Amir of Cábul. His name, as all know, was Dost Muhammad Khan, and he was ready to be on good terms with Lord Auckland if he could get moral support. His two great objects were to wrest Peshawur from the Sikhs, and to defend himself from his brother at Candahar, who was invoking the aid of Persia and Russia. The heir of the Saduzais—or elder branch—still retained possession of Herat.

THREEFOLD MOVE.

The first move was threefold. In 1837 a Persian force advanced upon Herat, a Russian envoy was despatched to Candahar, and Alexander Burnes arrived at Cábul, charged with "a commercial mission." The results are well known. The siege of Herat, though partly directed by Russian officers, was checked by the energy of Eldred Pottinger, and the threat of the British squadron appearing in the Persian Gulf; but Burnes departed from Cábul, unable to promise Peshawar to the Dost; Vikovich, the semi-official Russian agent, remained in apparent possession of the diplomatic field, and was received with honour, not only at Candahar, but at Cábul itself.

This was the critical moment. A good deal of what was done at first was done well. Pressure was put upon Persia and Russia, under which the siege of Herat was raised, at the express instance of the British Ambassador at Tahrán. That was on the 9th September, 1838. The Russian Government disavowed the proceedings of its agents, though the British officers at the same time intercepted a letter in which those agents had attempted to stimulate the Candahar chiefs to hostility against Dost Muhammad, and at once urged their government to espouse the Dost's cause. Sir C. Wade, too, the political officer in the Punjab, gave his advice that the Saduzai Prince should be supported at Herat.

Unhappily the "tripartite treaty" had been signed three months before, so that all those recommendations came too late. The rule which the Dost had established at Cábul was upset, the luckless Sháh Shujá was forced upon a high-spirited people who had cast him forth; Herat was left as a bait to unscrupulous neighbours; and the seeds of exile were sown which have not yet ceased to bear fruit after their kind.

GRAND SCHEME.

The policy was called "the grand scheme." It was opposed to the strongly-expressed opinion of the Indian Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Fane. It was opposed by Burnes, who wrote to Macnaghten (three weeks before the execution of the treaty) in the following terms:—"It remains to be considered why we cannot act with Dost Muhammad. He is a man of undoubted ability, and has at heart a high opinion of the British nation. And if half of what you must do for others were done for him he would abandon Russia and Persia for ever" [Kaye, I. 354.] It was not then too late. The siege of Herat had not been raised, but the tripartite treaty had not been signed; indications were appearing of an amicable adjustment of the Pesháwar difficulty, and a delay of three months would have dispelled all remaining troubles. But other counsels prevailed, and Macnaghten and Burnes went on to their disaster.

The policy, however, was not adopted without warning from even more important quarters. It was at once condemned by Wellington and Wellesley, by Mounstuart Elphinstone, by Sir Charles Metcalfe, by Mr. St. G. Tucker, and by the collective Court of Directors. It may serve to throw a light on the weakness of the Government at St. Petersburg against the action of its remote individual agents when we find that a project so universally blamed could be carried out by a small clique of ambitious local officers in British India.

THE DOST.

Every one is aware of the swift and complete retribution exacted by the logic of events. Instead of an independent but friendly Afghanistan, Lord Auckland's scheme procured an Afghanistan which as long as it was dependent was most hostile. Calmer times then ensued, simply because the golden rule was adopted of abstaining from interference in the internal politics of the country and recognizing the *de facto* ruler. This principle was first laid down by Elphinstone in 1808. With the exception of one fugitive snatch at his Will-o'-wisp Peshawur (in 1849) the restored Dost Muhammad vindicated Burnes's opinion of him remaining faithful to the British alliance to the day of his death. The fortune that has so long befriended Britain has now brought back the state of things that seemed interrupted for many years after the Dost's demise. Once more, after a variety of good and evil fortunes, we have a friendly and powerful ruler in Afghanistan, an efficient custodian for the outwork that protects our landward entrance. Is that sufficient? That is the question.

THREE CLASSES.

Without going into any of those details which are still the subject of controversy, and which must be decided on the knowledge and wisdom of experts and responsible agents, it may be useful to remember that no gatekeepers can be trusted unless we do our own part. Heaven helps those who help themselves, says the proverb; and in this respect, at least, Man closely follows the ways of Heaven. There are three classes whom it is expedient to impress with a sense of our readiness and resolution: I mean the enemies without, the guard in the gateway, the subject races within. Of the attitude to be observed towards the first, there can be no two opinions: unblustering and courteous firmness is the only thing that will avail us there. Let it be carefully determined what is the least and mildest measure demanded by our safety, and let that measure be taken and held to without the smallest prospect of compromise or of surrender. Let no engagements be asked for, no pledges required. Say—for instance—that the Hari Rud river were laid down as the frontier of Afghanistan. Aided by an Afghan garrison in Candahar, and by our own forces within her own borders, India would probably have no invader to repel there for a long while to come; and when she had, would easily repel him. Colonel Malleson is of opinion (*ubi supra*) that “the real contest for India has always “taken place on the Helmand;” but it is only the principle that is here contended for; any other frontier line will demand the same firmness.

As to the Afghans, little more need be said. With many detestable faults they are a manly set, and will willingly co-operate with manhood. They have no wish to see any Christian power established in their mountains; and, so long as the British in India are regarded as friends, supporters, and, above all, good paymasters, who have no thirst for annexation, the Afghans will rather serve them than trust others whom they do not know as favourably or as well.

Thirdly, as to our own people. We have seen that the Mughol Empire in its palmy days subdued Afghan territory, and held it by the aid of Hindus. But that was under Akbar, a ruler who made it his fundamental principle to rule justly, to conciliate innocent prejudices and harmless passions, to employ the best men in his service without distinction of creed or colour. This system we must strictly follow.

NO RESERVATION.

It is, as a rule, not less dangerous than unbecoming for uninformed outsiders to offer advice to the specialists, whose duty it is to collect and classify the fluctuating facts of foreign politics. But it may be permitted to us to point out that insults and intentional menaces

cannot be endured (beyond a certain easily-reached point) without permanent peril. Indeed, there is not, probably, any other actual danger. The rulers of British India have nothing to gain by reserve, or by that false pride which statesmen of the second class are apt to mistake for dignity. Suppose they had to deal with an adversary whose advance was paved with broken pledges, and whose protocols were the epitaph of good faith, the greater would be their inducement to an outspoken avowal of intentions and capabilities. Such an avowal is also due to the industrious, law-abiding populations whom the British in India have volunteered to govern and protect. In order to make those populations tranquil and contented, in order to develop to the utmost the industries and resources of India, we are bound to be bold and frank : to let the world know what we mean to do. The Government of India is doubtless prepared ; let that Government say so openly. The present state of things is perplexing native Indian opinion with alarm and doubt. It was well said by the witty Charles II, when his brother professed anxiety as to his safety from assassination :—" Never fear, James ; they will never kill me to make " thee King." In the reputation of her probable successor in India, England has a tower of strength ; but menace from without, even though it may not weaken the Government, has a tendency, if not properly encountered, to make men's minds uneasy and unsettle them in their occupations. Only let the people know that their protection is strong and ready in the hands of rulers who disinterestedly desire their welfare, and the North-Western side of India will be as strong as any other. It was hastily said by Sir John Kaye, that " there is " no public in India," and the epigram may have taken root in light mental soils. But there is a public in India, it may be said that there are several publics ; and intrigues of powerful neighbours are regarded with alarm by the many, who are interested in order, and with sympathy by the few who are restless and malicious. As it has been well observed by Sir H. Rawlinson, that noble veteran who has the greatest practical knowledge, and the ripest experience in regard to our subject, " the conquests of the Russians on the Jaxartes have " come to exercise a disturbing influence over the native mind in the " North of India. . . . What England has to apprehend . . . is not " the immediate, or even the proximate, invasion of our Indian Empire, " which is a notion peculiar to panic-mongers." What would be dangerous would be a second European State on the borders of our own Empire, with which contrasts could be drawn unfavourably to ourselves, and that not only in respect of justice and integrity, but of strength and resolution.

PREPARATION.

It is the personal belief in which these remarks have been made that Britain is thoroughly alert and prepared. Though Candahar has not been retained as a British garrison, Quettah has. It has lately been stated in a well-informed London paper, that twenty thousand labourers are at this moment employed, with a vast store of gunpowder, making a road through the Bolan Pass, which can be turned into a railway at a month's notice, and which will, when requisite, place our military communications within one hundred miles of Candahar. It is further understood that a delimitation between what is Afghan territory and what is neutral—in other words between the sphere of British Indian activity and that open to Russian operations—is proceeding. And the Government will then inform the Czar and his Ministers, in terms courteous but unequivocal, that any trespass will be regarded as an overt act of hostility, and replied to by the despatch of a British squadron to the Baltic and a blockade of Russian ports. And that it is at the same time not concealed that, should Persia manifest complicity in such trespass, another squadron would promptly appear in the Gulf, where a force could be, if necessary, landed and led into Khorasan. Should the Amir of Cábul desire it, assistance could be given in the way of strengthening the frontier-line. The fortifications of Herat could be reconstructed by British engineer officers in a few weeks, and other necessary aid given to protect the frontier against a sudden attack. These measures are surely sufficient. But it is due to the general anxiety—both here and in India—that they should be authoritatively published and made known.

TRADE ROUTE.

As to Merv or Sarakhs, it is fruitless to say more. We cannot ask the Russians to withdraw any influence that they may be acquiring there, nor does such influence affect our interests directly or necessarily.

From what has recently occurred it seems that the Russians are proposing a trade-route, *viâ* Herat, towards Candahar. From the recent remarks and publications of Mr. Marvin—to whom we are deeply indebted for his labours in this field—it may be gathered that he has no fear of an invasion; indeed it would appear that supplies and transport would not be available in sufficient quantities. But, under colour of a trade-route, an opening may be found to “shake our frontier” if ever we appear again in the “Eastern Question” as friends of the Porte.

- As to the genuine trade aspect, this country and India would

probably welcome it, only it should be a condition of our assent that a proper treaty of commerce is made, and we are admitted to the benefit of all that accrues to "the most favoured nation." That is the work of diplomacy. The negotiation of a commercial treaty is, surely, within the resources of the diplomatic art, so long as the parties are in earnest, and are not hostile to each other.

As for the "Eastern Question," I cannot assume any opinion of mine to have much weight. But I do not think that this country will be necessarily hostile to the views of Russia, as she is certainly no longer to be the Protagonist. It is Germany that will in future be the chief factor in that solution, whatever it may be.

THREE POINTS.

My points are three :—

1. That a friendly influence in Cabul, with easy access to the Helmand Valley, and a well-founded confidence in the attachment of the peoples of India, are our main sources of strength.

2. That our naval power is the best guarantee for whatever line we may lay down, if it be done with due resolution.

3. That formal position should be taken, recognizing all Afghan territory (from Herat to Pesháwur) as the barbican of the Indian Empire. That our Government is fully informed I do not doubt; but it is necessary—for the assurance of the public mind (here, but especially in India)—that the world of friends and foes should participate in the information.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen,—before asking any of you to rise and make your remarks with reference to the very interesting paper to which we have all listened, I will beg your attention to that point of the lecture which I am sure is uppermost in the mind of every listener. It is not upon that very able summary of the past that your attention is now fixed, but it is, I am sure, with regard to what may happen in the near future that the ideas and interest of every Englishman are directed. Now I must express my deep regret that I differ entirely with the conclusions at which Mr. Keene has arrived. I can only see an enemy on the frontier of India who has marched across sterile and sandy deserts, not for the purpose of occupying those sterile and sandy deserts, but that he may do what those who have preceded him have always done, namely, descend from those sandy and sterile deserts into the fertile plains of Hindustan. The Russians are now at Sarakhs, and the Russians are at Merv. Merv is only 240 miles, by the Hari Rud and the Cabul

River to Herat, and Sarakhs is only 150 miles from the same point; and we have the evidence of English officers who have travelled that route—the evidence of Lieutenant March and General Sir Charles McGregor, now the Quartermaster-General of the army in India—that that route is almost entirely a level road, practicable for artillery the whole way from Sarakhs to Herat. There you have on the borders of Herat one of the most powerful of European nations, and I would just ask your attention for a moment to this: What is Herat? Herat is the most fertile country in the whole of Asia. Herat possesses mines of lead and iron fit to make the bullets and the guns necessary for an invading army; it grows to a great extent those trees which are best adapted for the manufacture of gunpowder; and its soil is so fertile in grain that it was called in old days the granary and the garden of Central Asia; and what I fear is that we shall have that which Sir Henry Rawlinson so graphically described—we shall have on the frontier of India, in this fertile country of Herat, an enemy able to sit there, and to take advantage of all the resources of the country, and to form in that country a new base from which at any moment he can issue forth to India, without bringing anything across those sterile deserts which he has traversed into that fertile country. That enemy will sit there, and from there he will intrigue with the native princes of India; and when there comes again, as there may come at any day, such a commotion as that which we witnessed twenty-five years ago, and the army of Russia advances from Herat, how shall we be able to prevent that enemy marching through that gate of Candahar, through which every invader of India except Baber has always marched to its conquest? The reason why I and those who think with me have always dwelt on the necessity and the primary importance of maintaining the gate of Candahar, is that to the west of Candahar there is the Chotirali country, also a very fertile country, and from which there are more than ninety passes leading across the Indus into Hindustan. It is on that account that I say we must not trust to treaties. It will not do, as we have done for the last twenty years, to trust to the promises of Russia. We have had promise after promise that she will not advance, and she has always advanced. If we trust to promises we shall see that fatal day when Russia will be on the frontier of India, ready to advance at any moment to take advantage of the position which she will have gained entirely through our trusting to promises. I say, then, that we must do more than keep Quettah; we must occupy the country, especially the important town of Tull, some seventy or eighty miles to the west of Candahar, and which covers the greater number of those passes to which I have

alluded. If we are not strong at the gate of India that gate will be crossed at any moment of internal commotion and of necessity for advance on the part of Russia. It is all very well to talk of Russia having no intention of invading India; but none of us know what European complications may arise. It is all very well, as Mr. Keene says, to trust to our fleet, but at the present moment the fleet of France is equal in number to the fleet of England; and if we were to see an alliance between Russia and France, with what effect could our fleet act in the Persian Gulf? We must be strong in our own strength, and not in the strength of others. I am very glad to see here many gentlemen, especially my friend on the left from Lahore (Dr. Leitner), and Mr. Marvin, and others, who are well able to talk upon this question, and I hope we shall not break up this evening before we have had the advantage of listening to them upon a subject so important at the present moment. Let them recollect that Russia has enlisted into her ranks the splendid cavalry of the Turcomans, and has gained a position close to Herat. It is of the greatest importance that we should listen to those who are well able to talk upon a subject which is second to none in interest to those who value the honour and greatness of their country. (Hear, hear.) I shall be glad to hear any gentleman who will rise and contribute to the discussion.

General Sir ORFEUR CAVENAGH: Ladies and gentlemen,—I think after the clear and exhaustive remarks made by our Chairman in opening the discussion, a very few words are needed from me. To a certain extent, I agree with the lecturer; I concur most fully as regards his first point. I believe “that a friendly influence “in Afghanistan, that would give us easy access to the Helmund “Valley, and a well-founded confidence in the attachment of the “peoples of India, should be our main sources of strength,” and I would go even further than that. I think there is another power over which we should endeavour to again acquire influence, though from our indifference, and I might almost say idiocy, the influence that we once possessed we have almost entirely lost. The power I refer to is Persia. So long as we retained our influence with Persia, Russia would never have ventured to have made her recent advance towards the frontier of Afghanistan, therefore I would say that one of the first steps to be taken by our Government—if it is not, as perhaps it may be, almost too late—should be to place the Mission at Ispahan, under the control of the Indian Government, so that we should have officers at the Persian Court who were acquainted with the character of Orientals, and consequently be able to deal with them,

not like that gentleman who, as it was, I believe, on one occasion stated in Parliament, was sent as our representative to Persia, because he had been to Peru, and Peru and Persia were both spelt with "P." As I said before, I do not consider that it is of the utmost importance to us that we should maintain "friendly relations with Afghanistan." It is on that account that I was not so strong an advocate as our Chairman for the retention of Candahar. I have looked at the subject not only in a military, but also in a political point of view. In a military point of view, there is no doubt our proper position is Candahar, but the question is whether, if we held possession of Candahar, we should be enabled to obtain that influence, which I think is very necessary, over the Afghans. Might we not have them always as enemies instead of possibly as friends? It is on that account that I have generally advocated our retaining our present frontier; at the same time, I do not consider that we should be satisfied with simply stationing a few regiments at Quettah. No; we should have in the Peshin Valley, a fortified post at which we could store all the munitions ready for a force of 50,000 men; moreover, we should require not merely the one railway through the Bolan Pass leading from Sibi, but also another line of communication through the Bori Pass. I am not speaking on this point from personal knowledge, for I have no acquaintance with the country, but upon the statements of one who may be looked upon as an authority, namely, Colonel Browne of the Engineers. He told us at a meeting of this Society some years ago, that it was quite practicable to have a line through the Bori Pass. In addition to having a strong *place d'armes* in the Peshin Valley, we should carry on our railway to Candahar; even although we might not possess that city it should be a *sine quâ non* that we should have the means of moving on it at once, and that railway itself might possibly prove to some extent a bond of peace and union between us and the Afghans. They would recognize the advantage of having easy means of communication for their trade; in consequence of the friendly feeling thus produced, we might be able to retain them on our side, and that certainly would be a most important point gained. I would now allude to the second point upon which Mr. Keene has commented independently of the coalition suggested by our Chairman, and which is perfectly possible, for such a coalition did exist in 1859, though it was not generally known to the public. I consider that the time for us to check Russia by our naval force is at an end. It has, if I remember right, been said by some politician that a fight between Russia and England in Europe would be like a fight between an elephant and a whale. Consequently, I think we must put that

entirely on one side. We cannot in any way injure Russia by our naval power. In former days when railroads did not exist, no doubt we might have crippled her commerce; but we did not do so in the Crimean War. The whole of her commerce passed through Prussia, and railways have since been multiplied, so that she would simply laugh at any naval demonstration, for in these days we should not think of destroying mere peaceful towns, and we could do nothing else in either the Baltic or the Black Sea. As regards the third point alluded to by Mr. Keene, I think every one here must hold with the lecturer that it is necessary that our Government should take up a determined position. We should not be allowed to drift into war as seems always the case in the present day. (Hear, hear.) We should distinctly let the world know what is our intention, and we should also let our subjects in India know that we mean to protect them, and for that purpose to expend our last man and last penny if it is necessary, so that India may feel that so long as her people are loyal to their rulers England is at her back. The loyalty, of course, is a matter of very great importance. I have lived amongst the people of India for many years and have been intimate with men of all classes, and I believe that, as a rule, they are loyal. During the Mutiny, there were hundreds and thousands who adhered to us even in the Provinces held by the mutineers; but I do dread what I dreaded then, I dread the intrigues of an European power, and it is that which we have to guard against in the event of Russia taking up a position on our frontier. She with her intrigues brought about the Indian Mutiny. (Oh! Oh!) It cannot be denied that such was the case. It is perfectly true. She brought it about through Persia. I am not speaking simply after events; I spoke before they occurred, I wrote both to the Board of Control, and to the Indian Government, to state that we should have war with Persia, and asked for a command, and I was told that it was most unlikely that such a war would take place; but I knew that it was coming. I felt certain that the moment war was declared against Russia, and we threatened the Crimea, she would commence intriguing with Persia, and Persia with every Native Court in India, and the Native Courts with the disaffected soldiery. Of course in a large country like India, there always must be men who are disaffected. There are the restless and ambitious, many possibly who have lost position through our rule; but taking the bulk of the people I believe that they will be strictly loyal so long as we act justly and fairly towards them.

Lord STANLEY of ALDERLEY: Colonel Malleeson, ladies

and gentlemen,—Our Chairman began by saying that he did not entirely agree with the paper which has been read to us; but I should like to know which part he agreed with and which part he did not agree with, because the author of this paper has such a judicial mind that he cannot help taking in all parts of the question. Part of the paper I entirely agree with, and I am sure our Chairman will agree with me when I ask you to agree with it. I think there is very little doubt that Mr. Keene's advice is thoroughly sound when he warns us against being taken by surprise, and not knowing where to take our stand and forbid the Russians from advancing. He says, "The Government should inform the Czar and his Ministers, in terms courteous but unequivocal, that any trespass will be regarded as an overt act of hostility, and replied to by the despatch of a British squadron to the Baltic and a blockade of Russian ports." When Mr. Keene says that, I take it for granted that he must mean also that we should withdraw from the Declaration of Paris, because without that any blockade is impossible. (Mr. Keene: "Hear, hear.") Now, I must entirely differ from what fell from the speaker who last addressed you about a fight between an elephant and a whale. The whole of Russia's prosperity depends upon her exports. Russia has given guarantees by extending her seaports; and now that she has large naval establishments at the other end of her empire in the Pacific, at the mouth of the Amoor, and near Kamschatka, she is much more assailable than she was at the beginning of the century. Then the paper goes on to say that we should have "a friendly influence in Afghanistan," and "that our naval power is the best guarantee for whatever line we may lay down if it be done with due resolution." That is all very well. Now I come to the negative part of his paper; and I must say it is a distinct retreat from the line which was laid down by Sir Henry Rawlinson as the ultimate point with which, if Russia meddled, it was to be considered as a *casus belli*. Now this paper asks us to draw a line south of Herat at the Hari Rud, and even at the River Helmund, which would seriously encroach upon Afghan territory. How can you expect that under those circumstances the Afghans could have any confidence in us?

Mr. KEENE: Lord Stanley misapprehends me. In speaking of the Helmund I was simply referring to what Colonel Malleson said.

Lord STANLEY of ALDERLEY: Then I did not properly understand that portion of the paper. Then with regard to what the last speaker said, I entirely agree that it may not be too late yet to

support Persia and to induce Persia to place confidence in us. There is no doubt that if we had the full confidence of Persia, and if we had its resources at our disposal, it would be much better to attack Russia in the rear and attack her on the Caspian Sea, instead of sending troops all through Afghanistan and indisposing the Afghans. In the first paragraph of the paper there is something which is on the negative side. I should say that the author cannot have read much of what is said in the French and German newspapers. He says, "I do not propose to go into the propriety of the Russian proceedings at Merv. They represent a *fait accompli* to which at least as much prominence has been given as was due." All the Continental press says that we are giving up the game; they ask, Where is the spirit of England that she takes things so quietly? From the Continental papers certainly it would seem that we have not given as much prominence as was due to Russian proceedings at Merv. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. CHARLES MARVIN:—Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—There has been a reference made to me by the lecturer which compels me to address to you to-day a few remarks. He says, "From the recent remarks and publications of Mr. Marvin . . . it may be gathered that he has no fear of an invasion." I saw that the Chairman smiled when that sentence was read by the lecturer, and really it is a very great misconception. I have written a great many books upon Central Asia, and I believe that the tone running through all of them has been the fear of a Russian invasion. (Hear, hear.) I think that the lecturer must have taken what he has said from a conversation which General Skobelev once had with me, in which he had laid special stress upon the fact that Russia would experience great difficulty in obtaining supplies and transports for the purpose of invading India. Recently there has been published a very interesting book, entitled, "Reminiscences of General Skobelev," written by Nemirovitch Dantchenko. There is one feature upon which Dantchenko, who knew General Skobelev very well, lays especial stress, and that is that Skobelev was a very great diplomatist. When I saw General Skobelev in St. Petersburg he knew that I took a great interest, in common with a very large number of Englishmen, in the safeguarding of Herat from Russia; and consequently the whole tone of his conversation with me was directed to the purpose of easing my mind and the minds of the people of England upon this matter, and hence he laid special stress upon the difficulties of transport. But since I had that conversation with Skobelev, which, so far as he was concerned, was very diplomatically conducted, Lessar has published an

account of his discoveries in the region between Sarakhs and Herat which completely upsets all that Skobelev said to me as to the difficulties arising from the badness of the roads. With this explanation I will conclude what I have to say about this particular point. Now, coming back to the paper, the lecturer says, "We cannot ask the Russians to withdraw any influence that they may be acquiring at Merv, nor does such influence affect our interests." Mr. Chairman, it is not a question of influence at Merv, it is a question of actual occupation. At the present moment there are over 2000 Russian troops concentrated at Merv under General Komaroff, and, according to a Russian newspaper which I have in my possession, three weeks ago five or six other generals left Tiflis for Merv. General Dondukoff Korsakoff, the Governor-General of the Caucasus, left Tiflis for Merv ten days ago, and is probably now well on his way there. According to the semi-official Tiflis paper, while on his way to Merv, he should call at Sarakhs, which would, of course, be evacuated by the Persian troops. In connection with Sarakhs there has been rather a strong controversy in *The Times* and other papers as to which of the two Sarakhses was meant by this statement in the Tiflis journal, but to my view it is altogether an immaterial point, because the Russians intend to advance still further in the direction of Herat. I have in my possession a little map, which I received this morning from St. Petersburg, and which was published by the general staff at the price of 6d each a few days ago, and this contains a fresh delineation of the Afghan frontier line. According to this alteration, instead of the Afghan frontier line running across from Khoja Saleh to Sarakhs, as you see in the map, it makes it bend inwards towards Herat, and strikes the Hari Rud at Pesh Robat, bringing the frontier within fifty miles of Herat. The Russians, as I have said, have 2000 men at Merv; they have already entered into negotiations for the surrendering of the Turcoman camps which will bring them into territory which they have already annexed on the map, and it seems to me that, unless we take very strong measures very shortly, this annexation on paper will become an annexation in actual fact. Then, again, the lecturer says, "The Government should inform the Czar and his Ministers, in terms courteous but unequivocal, that any trespass will be regarded as an overt act of hostility." Well, it is a question how we can possibly prevent any trespass within fifty miles of Herat. We know very well that the Russians are always surveying there. They have plenty of caravans there, and they have a very large number of travellers and ambitious staff officers. It was only a few weeks ago, during a journey to the Caspian Sea, that the steamer I was travelling

by stopped at Kertch, and quite casually, in one of the shops at Kertch, which I entered for the purpose of buying some antiquities, I came across an Armenian Jew who had accompanied, only a short time previously, a Russian embassy to Cabul, which embassy we had never heard of before. This embassy comprised Captain Venkhovsky, Prince Khilkoff, and this Armenian Jew. I will not go into particulars of what he told me about their operations in Afghanistan, but it is sufficient for me to mention the fact of the secret mission to show that we ourselves do not know the amount of intrigue which Russia is carrying on in Afghanistan. Without troubling you with any further observations, it seems to me that we ought to do something more than writing books and delivering lectures upon this subject. The Russians are already in possession of the outposts of Herat, and we know very well that they mean to move closer shortly. It seems to me that steps ought to be taken by the leading authorities on the Eastern and Central Asian questions to form some Committee that should make known to the public the operations of Russia from time to time, and keep the press thoroughly informed upon all points of importance. When the question was raised whether we should retain Candahar or not, there was some talk about forming some such a Committee, and I certainly should like to see one established now. It is clear that we ought to resort to something stronger than mere discussion.

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD :—Colonel Malleeson, ladies and gentlemen,—As my views are rather different from many of those that have been expressed, probably I may be allowed to make a few remarks at this stage. I am getting in this matter to be quite an old-fashioned Conservative. I hold, Sir, by the opinion that was held by your revered master, Lord Lawrence, and by his colleagues, that the boundaries of India are quite sufficient for herself and for her protection; and, to use your own words as quoted in the paper, “so long “as Hindustan keeps in her own hands the keys of her fortress, the “passes leading to her fertile plains, India is safe.” Well, I think that India does keep the keys in her own hands. (No.) Most emphatically so; and not only the keys of her own gates, but the ability to force the gates of other people. No one could avoid thinking so who was in India at the time when, at the close of 1879, we made that ugly rush into Afghanistan, when that most difficult and most forbidding country was invaded with so much celerity by our gallant troops. There is no difficulty whatever in that direction. We can go to Herat if we like. With regard to the paper, I should like to say that, as Lord Stanley just remarked, it is eminently judicial in tone;

it is also, I think, of very high quality in its broad literary and historical generalizations. In this respect it is very far above the level of much of the declamation which is just now put forward by irresponsible persons both in and out of Parliament, and as such, Mr. Keene's paper is one very suitable to be read before this Association. I may add that its interest has been enhanced by the way in which the lecturer has interspersed additional remarks as he went on (Hear, hear); though I may afterwards point out one or two instances in which there seems to be a desire to strengthen our frontiers at the expense of other people. On page 158 he remarks, that after the Government had made up its mind—and it is very good of Mr. Keene to think that it has a mind to make up, which I quite believe it, or the Government of India has —“the Government will then inform the Czar and his “ministers in terms courteous but unequivocal, that any trespass will “be regarded as an overt act of hostility, and replied to by the “despatch of a British squadron to the Baltic, and a blockade of “Russian ports.” Now, while it is not needful to express approval of this particular plan, I do wish to emphasize, though the writer does not, the essential difference there is between a straightforward, self-dependent, honest course of this kind, and that of the cowardly, clumsy, paltry method in which former so-called aggressions have been dealt with. Instead of punishing the real offender, you attack the helpless Afghans and anybody else except Russia, and you do this at the expense of the still more helpless people of India. With regard to the recent clamour for a railway to Candahar, I ask first, “At “whose expense is this to be made? It is your scare; it is your “work; it is not the people of India who want it.” The greater part of this alarm that we are told is expressed in the native press is fictitious, and a mere echo of the chronic Anglo-Indian alarm upon this subject, especially in the North of India. I was very glad that the Chairman of our Council, General Cavenagh, called attention to the fact that it was not merely a military question, this making a railway to Candahar, but also a political question. He also recalled to your minds the last occasion when this subject, especially that part of it relating to the border, was brought before this Association in a very interesting paper by Colonel James Browne, which he referred to. I would ask you just to recall the way in which Colonel Browne spoke of this railway to Candahar, and it is exactly appropriate to the former portion of the General's remark in that respect. Colonel Browne put it in this way:—

“The idea that by retaining Candahar, by developing its agricultural and trade resources, &c., we could make it pay its expenses, is another illusion; as, under British administration, it would not pay a tithe of the cost of its occupation. Let

anyone who knows Peshawur and Candahar, and their relative trade, agriculture, and distances from the Indus, consider the fact that after thirty-two years of English administration the revenues of the Peshawur district are entirely inadequate, in time of peace, to pay for its garrison. In face of such a fact can it be gravely argued that Candahar might be made to pay the expenses of a garrison on a war footing?"

Therefore, as I say, it comes back to this: if that is to be done, who is to pay for it? It will not pay for itself: and India ought not to have to pay for it. It is a British imperial affair, and if we are worthy of empire, why not accept the responsibilities of empire, and pay for it ourselves? I may venture to say that if this were done the whole subject would be looked at fairly, and it would throw a different phase upon the whole discussion. Some persons might still come to the conclusion that there should be a £4,000,000 railway to Candahar; but do it upon your own responsibility and at your own expense. (Hear, hear.) Then let me point out what Colonel Browne went on to say:—

"However inadequate the revenues of the provinces of Candahar would be to support our costly administration, it should not be forgotten that they represent more than one-third, and that the most easily collected, of the income of the Afghan kingdom. Further, without holding Candahar no revenue can be levied from Herat" (and Herat no doubt is one of the most fertile portions of the Afghan state); "and it is quite preposterous to suppose that any Cabul ruler, shorn by our action of fully two-thirds of his revenue, could be other than our bitter enemy."

That is the political suggestion which General Cavenagh very properly referred to. Then there is another way of putting it. I say, whatever we may think about blockades, and so on, whilst it is very certain that in Europe Russia is vulnerable, in Central Asia she is perfectly unassailable. Mr. Marvin and others tell us "What can you do? They must go on." That is so; but this policy of rushing forward beyond our own secure frontier is, as I have termed it, a clumsy policy: it is clumsy, because you entail upon yourselves the very maximum of expense and risk and peril, to go and meet an enemy who can please himself as to whether he accepts your challenge or not. (Hear, hear.) Therefore it is quite time another and a sounder method of strategy was employed in this matter. I should like to have referred to other topics; there is so much interesting historical matter, that it renders the paper one of very great value; but you, Sir, have directed our attention more immediately to the current and popular aspect of the subject, and to what little the author has said as to our present policy, and therefore I will not go into the historical part of the paper at any length. But, Sir, I may observe that there is just one passing reference, and a rather shame-

faced reference it is, to the treaty of Gundamuk. One would have thought that that wretched business was either buried or cremated by this time, and that it did not call for any reference in this paper. I think that was one of the most melancholy passages in our modern Indian history. In speaking of myself as in this matter Conservative, I say that this is the Conservative view, that the natural boundaries of India are sufficient for herself, and are sufficiently strong against any comers; and you only prejudice and weaken yourselves by going beyond those frontiers. That was the view, not only of Lord Lawrence, but of all the members of the Indian Government in 1868—perhaps the strongest Government that India has had in modern time. Mr. Keene has in two or three places, and very properly, laid emphasis on the primary importance of the public here and the people of India being kept informed as much as possible. Now, I believe if those Minutes, those unanswerable minutes as I contend, on the whole Central Asian question, the Minutes of 1867-68, had been published at the time, the country would not have been betrayed into that foul mistake of the Afghan War in 1878-79. (Hear, hear.) I refer to the Minutes of Lord Lawrence's Government. They began with the proposition of Sir Bartle Frere to go to Quettah, and they proceed with the whole subject down to 1868. I say that if the papers had been put before the world, that ugly rush across the frontier would never have been made in 1879. You must remember, as Mr. Keene has said in speaking against secrecy, these things have always been done in secret; and he especially refers back to Lord Auckland's period—at the time when a scheme was made and a treaty was drawn up, but was kept in the dark for three months. He refers to Burnes's despatches in 1838, the burking of which at the time led to the hideous mistake which followed. All I say to those who are so afraid of the Russians, and who fear that Russia will invade the fertile plains of India, is this: let us above all have publicity—early and prompt publicity, and then we shall not have these things done behind our backs, and we shall know what we are doing, and avoid these fatal mistakes. As has been said, we may write books and papers to any extent after the mischief is done, but when millions and lives are gone it is too late. (Hear, hear.) Let us not be too late. Here let me just recall one general remark of Mr. Keene with regard to the empire of the Moghuls. It is a very high eulogium that he pays to Akbar, perhaps it is somewhat too high; and it certainly goes rather against some of our professions to think that in the history of these Mussulman rulers in India, there is something to which our statesmen may well look. Let us hope that we may yet have our own Akbar. (Hear, hear).

Dr. G. W. LEITNER: Mr. Chairman,—As has been said before, this paper is judicial, and its historical information would make it of perfect value. At the same time there are spots in the sun, and there are some surprising revelations in this paper; for instance, we find (Saul among the prophets!) that Mr. Marvin advocates a neutral policy; that Sir Henry Rawlinson is not a Russophobic, and so forth. I suppose, with the example of General Gordon before us, we can explain these inconsistencies. I also believe that with a judicious use of extracts from the writings of British statesmen, both sides of a question could always be very fairly elucidated. But with reference to the point before us, without wishing to commit myself one way or the other, it is obvious that it is necessary that we should know from those who advocate one side or the other, what it is that they propose. It is no use merely saying that there is danger unless they also propose something tangible with a view to warding off that danger. Now, Mr. Marvin has said, as far as I understand him, that we require a Committee to keep the press informed of what is going on. No doubt that would be very interesting and very useful, especially to those concerned on the Press; but it seems to me that important as this is, there is something more that is required, and that is, as it seems to me, the publication and study of all existing material with regard to the languages, the roads, and the relations of Chief to Chief in these countries. About a quarter of a century ago, coming back from the Russian war, I ventured to point out that we were running great dangers in not having *inter alia* a School of Interpreters in England for the East. It was the ignorance of Arabic that lost Baker Pasha's army (see Sir Samuel Baker's letter to *The Pall Mall Gazette*). Hicks Pasha did not know a word of Arabic. The head of the Intelligence, or, perhaps, Non-Intelligence Department, is similarly stated not to know that language, and I do not know who of our leading men in Egypt does. We shall have our Khartoum too, and our Suakim, in the so-called "neutral zone" in Central Asia, probably before this century comes to a close. Then, as I fear now, it will be perfectly useless for any number of meetings to be held, for it is our custom not to move until the danger is actually upon us, whatever that danger may be, whether from within or from without. Had that School of Interpreters been started before, I am perfectly satisfied that the events in Bulgaria, and, indeed, in Turkey generally, would have been shaped more in the interests of this country, which is too much guided by clever makeshifts on emergencies than prepared for them by preliminary knowledge. What we require is rather more of the genius that takes trouble without reference to immediate fame or

profit, and steady, thorough, and honest information, and perhaps, above all, linguistic knowledge, for in this respect Englishmen are quite unnecessarily behind other nations. We do not require ingenious conjectures upon the one side more than the other, nor a great array of brilliant intelligence, but we require actual information, and that with regard to the doings of Russia we certainly have not, except as to certain alleged accomplished facts, with which we cannot really deal with a fulness of knowledge. With regard to the advance of Russia, there is not the least doubt that the native papers in India written in English are a mere echo of our own papers. When I was at Ghilgit in 1866, the name of Russia was absolutely unknown in those parts; yet the English papers talked of Russian influence in those quarters, and the *Invalide Russe* reported some time after, that Mr. Leitner had been fighting against the Russians at Tashkand. So much for the newspapers on both sides. In the haste for news, the professional spirit of journalism often suffers. One is alarmed sometimes at irresponsible statements made in the papers from Cairo and other places, no doubt made in good faith, but without that sense of responsibility that attaches to professional or even official statements. Men who telegraph their impassioned opinions, instead of neutrally-tinted accounts of facts, should stand up in their own name. It seems to me a very sad thing indeed that there should be an important profession, perhaps one of the most important, without the same responsibility that attaches to the remaining professions or public positions; for instance, to one as a barrister, to another as a minister of religion, or to a third as a medical man. I think the time has come to consider this matter of raising the dignity, tone, and responsibility of journalism as one of the learned professions. Mr. Marvin says that information is what is required as to the movements of Russia, and there I go hand in hand with him. We certainly want information; but there is a danger from a source to which, perhaps, we have not given sufficient attention, and that is from India itself. It is all very well to say that we are to hold this or that advanced post. I do not say that we are not; but do you not know why our military tribes will not permit themselves to be recruited with the same ease that they were before the late Afghan war? Here is a question which, I think, is not unworthy of your consideration. (Hear, hear.) Then again with regard to what is done within our own frontier as regards pushing on the railways and so forth. Is it quite certain that we have done all that is possible or desirable in India itself? Have we those stockades that were recommended years ago by General Paget, and, I daresay, by Colonel Malleon himself, against those attacks of

cavalry to which he has alluded ; and is it quite sure, above all things that we are governing India at the present moment with the ruling motive of *salus reipublice suprema lex*. Those elements of loyalty and chivalry that exist in the people are certainly not being drawn into that identification with the Government which their own interests and ours require. Take the reference of Mr. Keene to Akbar. Akbar's Minister, Abul Fazl, when asked why it was that he supported all denominations alike, and not only kept up the existing religious endowments of the Hindoos, but even added to them, replied by the Muhammadan motto of : " Religion and Government are twins," by which he meant to imply that no Government could continue that neglected the religions of its subjects. Are we following his example ? Have we not by our secular system of education sapped the foundations of all religions alike ? Have we respected and maintained all the religious and secular indigenous educational endowments ? *J'y suis j'y reste*, might be said by the most advanced Liberal Government of India, in the best interests alike of India and England ; but, of course, if you go to India with *doctrinaire* notions, you will certainly succeed in, eventually, having again to call into play those great qualities of the English race which once conquered that country. From that point of view it is a good thing to go on denationalizing India. But if you go there with a view to remaining there, then I say take all the elements that have " a stake in the " country," and identify them with the maintenance of the Government and the progress of civilization. Has this been done ? Has it been done in the sense of Akbar ? Most certainly it has not been done. Recommendations have, *e.g.* been made to interfere with the instruction given in the schools attached to Mosques, or held by religious teachers ; but if those recommendations are carried out, we shall merely destroy what is left of the religious feeling and of the love of education for its own sake. What will be the result ? More students than now will know where Timbuctoo, grotesquely mispronounced, is situated, as if that mattered, when they may not know anything about their own province. By extending the present area of a mischievous and expensive system of secular education, we shall not only multiply office-seekers, but we shall also succeed at last in ingeniously finding out the one sore point which, if probed, will disintegrate native society, and which will goad the tenderest native susceptibilities into general disaffection. Whatever the tyrant was who obscured the native's horizon in former days, *he* never interfered in the curricula of religious schools ; or, still less, in the existing autonomy of the castes of India, as we are doing now under a Government whose

road is paved with the very best of intentions. I am afraid the Government is not imbued with a sense of the danger that it may run if it does not allow a great deal of what exists to develop itself rationally and gradually. It seems to me as necessary to cure the evils that we *can* know than fly to the applications of remedies to dangers that we know not of. Not that I would deprecate the utmost vigilance in our trans-frontier matters, but I would also draw your attention to the difficulties, if not dangers, from within, and that too from a quarter where it is least suspected. I think I know the Panjab as much as any other European, though the best of us, in dealing with an Indian problem, can, as it were, only scratch the Himalayas with a quill. The heart of the native is as deep and quiet as the wave of the Indian Ocean before a storm, but it is a good and noble heart, if stirred by associations which it can revere. Whether we are Russophobists or Russomaniacs, the first thing to be done is to address ourselves to a profounder study of the countries and inhabitants of the continent of India, as of those beyond our frontier or under Russian influence. (Applause.)

Mr. KEENE (having been called upon by the Chairman to reply) said: Ladies and gentlemen,—I have been treated with so much undeserved indulgence this afternoon that I feel it is a very pleasant and a very easy task to make a few remarks in concluding the discussion, which I hope we have all enjoyed. I must begin with what sounds a little disrespectful perhaps to the Chairman, in saying that I did not catch him to bring forward any very practical proposal on the subject, on which I, with all my judicial want of determination, have, at any rate, tried to lay down positive points. But one thing the gallant officer said was, that we ought, as far as I understood him, and he will correct me if I am wrong, to go up more towards Candahar, Herat, and so on. Now I would ask you this question: If proximity be a danger, why go nearer to the danger? That is all I have to say on that subject, and I say it with great deference, because I know, Sir, that you have studied this subject very deeply, and perhaps it is wrong of me to question your conclusion. But I do not think proximity is a danger, and therefore I will say that I am aware that many persons, some Conservatiyes, some not opposed to the present Government—I say no more, because I am not at liberty to do so—there are persons whose opinions are entitled to great respect on both sides of English politics who think we ought to be represented at Herat. I do not think myself that the time has come for that, and I purposely

abstained from that in the paper. But as the question of proximity has been introduced, I do not say and I do not think it is necessarily dangerous for us to have a civilized neighbour. As to Persia, the gentleman who addressed us spoke well upon the subject, but our influence in Persia has been dwindling ever since 1807, and we have done pretty well without her. On several occasions when it has been necessary we have held out the threat of a naval expedition to the Persian Gulf, and have always brought Persia within reason as to that. We have got on pretty well without her, and it is a very difficult thing to recover an influence that has been out of your hands for nearly eighty years. I think Russia is not so capable of affecting our position in India by intrigue as has been supposed. What fell from the learned gentleman (Dr. Leitner) who addressed you last is of very great importance, and he very modestly and with great propriety and gracefulness abstained from saying what I know was in his mind to say, and what he could have said very well, and what I hope some day we shall hear from him, and that is, as to that blind doctrinaireism by which our influence may be weakened in India. But I contend on the other side that compared with Russia—compared with any other Government that has ever attempted to control a people who are entirely different from themselves in civilization and characteristics—the British Government in India stands very high. I have served that Government for thirty-five years. I have not been particularly well treated by that Government. I have no personal reason for admiring that Government. I have seen its faults, and perhaps it would have been better for me if I had not been so ready to see them. I merely mention this to show you that I am not speaking from prejudice. I say, compared with other governments it is a very good government. The government of Akbar was also a very good government, but it lacked permanence; it was unable to provide institutions of a continuous nature. It dwindled into very bad from before the end of the last century; and therefore we cannot altogether compare the two. I have only in my paper drawn attention to one or two points in which Akbar's government was excellent, and in which unfortunately his own successors did not imitate him. Under his son and grandson the government fell lower and lower, and his great grandson lost the empire altogether. As to the speech of the noble lord on my left, I am very much obliged to his lordship for his treatment of what I said, but in one respect he rather misrepresented me, I think. I did not mean to say that we should confine our frontier to the Helmund. I said we should confine our frontier to the Herat line, which is a very different thing. I brought in the Helmund as an

importation from Colonel Malleson. Now with regard to what was said by Mr. Marvin, and I cannot help thinking, if I may be allowed to say so, that his remarks were the most interesting portion of the discussion in this room to-day. I must begin my very brief reference to what he said with an apology to him for having quite unintentionally misrepresented him. If the Russians do wish to invade India I contend that my position is in no way affected by his statement, because I think I have pointed out to you a line of policy that it would be wise for us to adopt even in that contingency, which I, in my present state of information, am not quite prepared to accept. One thing has been shown I think to be useless by the best test—namely, that of practice. I refer to the suggestion that we should go to Russia and say, You must not come here; you must not come there. Russia is a foreign power in a foreign territory, and speaking from my knowledge, not very great, of diplomatic usages, I do not think it is practically possible, and its impracticability has been shown by experience now. With regard to what Mr. Martin Wood said, Mr. Wood is, I know, always listened to with very great respect, especially on financial questions at our meetings here, but I venture to question the propriety of one principle which he laid down. Was it Mr. Wood's intention to convey that under no circumstances should the natives of India insure their property, and they were not to pay any premium, however moderate, for their security under certain circumstances when some conflagration, such as was created by Nadir Shah, is threatened them? I am sure I do not think Mr. Wood would go so far as that. As far as purely British interests are concerned, by all means let Britain do her own part; but when the natives of India see danger come to their hearths and homes I do not see why they should not bear their share too.

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD: If I may be allowed to interject an explanation of the remarks which I intended to make, I meant that one result of Mr. Keene's generalizations was this: that his remarks about Nadir Shah, and so on, were out of point; that the times of Nadir Shah are not properly in comparison with the present day. As to the principle of the natives bearing their share in the cost of insuring their safety, of course I admit that; but what I say is that that expense is unnecessary.

Mr. KEENE: Of course, whether it is essential or not is a question of detail. I understood the honourable gentleman to be laying down a general principle, and it is only against that that I beg to protest.

If he did not say so, I am sorry for having misunderstood him, because I think we must all see that there are certain positions and circumstances under which, if the natives of India wish for your protection, it is fair that they should bear a share in paying for it. Lastly, with regard to Dr. Leitner's remarks upon a school of interpreters, I think perhaps some of you will go away with the idea that the Government of India neglects its duty in this respect more than it really does. I fancy that in the army in that part of the country called the Bengal Presidency, though it includes more than Bengal proper, there are a great many officers qualified—especially those who pass examinations in the Pushtu language—and perhaps after a long intercourse with the people are competent in those languages—of course I do not mean to say that merely passing an examination is a sufficient test of their competency in the language. Lastly, as to the feeling of the Indian troops and the Indian population, I quite agree with Dr. Leitner, and I believe that we all know that the Indian troops do not like serving beyond the Indus, and that it would be a very great misfortune to have to employ a large force out of Hindustan. As to the feelings of the civil population, as I said before, I abstain from going into that subject; but I believe you will find that were the civil population satisfied with your intentions, and the native army prepared to confide in its government, and in its officers, we are not so weak as perhaps our enemies would like us to be.

Dr. LEITNER explained that he was not referring to the Pushtu language, but to the languages of the neutral zones, as to which there was lamentable ignorance on the part of our military officers.

The CHAIRMAN: I see by the agenda that the Chairman is expected to close the proceedings. I cannot do so, I am sure, in a better way than by thanking those gentlemen who have addressed us this evening, and who have given us such valuable information. I allude especially to the opinions given by Dr. Leitner and Mr. Marvin upon the subject. I may be permitted before I sit down to inform Mr. Keene that the point which I wished to lay before the meeting was that in the presence of the great advance of Russia of her frontier it was absolutely necessary that we should as soon as possible secure the one door into our Indian territories which is still open. Now I have always held that that door is Candahar, but for the reasons stated by General Cavenagh I would not at the present moment risk alienating the Afghans by an advance upon that place. What we could do is almost of equal force, and that is to occupy the

Town of Tull, about sixty miles to the east of Candahar, and which covers these ninety passes which lead from the Chotirali country into India. If that were done (and that could be done by an understanding with the Ameer), and Tull were joined by a railway to Candahar, it would immensely strengthen our position against Russian invasion. But as I said before, the danger of the present position of Russia lies in the fact that when the Russians once get to Herat they will occupy a position on our frontiers from which they can intrigue with our Native Princes. Perhaps, ladies and gentlemen, you would allow me to give you an instance which came within my own knowledge of what that means. About seven years ago an Austrian friend of mine visited Cashmere. As soon as the Maharajah of Cashmere heard that an Austrian had visited his capital, he sent for him, and he addressed him in these words, which were recounted to me by the Austrian gentleman himself. He said, "I have sent for you because you are not an Englishman, and you are not a Russian; you are midway between the two; and I want to ask you to tell me upon your honour, which is the most powerful nation, the English, or the Russian; because I hear so much of a Russian advance that I shall have to shape my course accordingly. If you tell me, and can give me proof that the Russians are the strongest, I must go with them; if the English are the strongest I must adhere to the English." Now that is the danger of the Russians taking a position on our frontier. They will send forward their skilled diplomatic agents to intrigue with our Native Princes, and the danger is that at the time which they may choose—and they could lie by and choose their own time—and when we send off an army to meet their army on the frontier, we may find that they have undermined our influence at the courts of our Indian Princes. With these remarks, ladies and gentlemen, I beg to close the meeting. I am still, I may add, of opinion, that our proper frontier town is Candahar, with outposts on the Helmund; and I am not ashamed to confess that I am in favour likewise of the occupation of Herat.

General Sir ORFEUR CAVENAGH: I think we should not close this meeting without performing one duty, which is to return thanks to Colonel Malleon for so ably presiding. I am sure that you will be unanimous in voting that question.

The motion was seconded by Dr. Leitner and carried unanimously, and the proceedings terminated.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

27TH MAY, 1884.

THE Annual Meeting of the East India Association was held on Tuesday afternoon, May 27th, 1884, at the Westminster Town Hall, under the Chairmanship of Sir Richard Temple, Bart., G.C.S.I., C.I.E., D.C.L., President of the Association.

In opening the proceedings, the CHAIRMAN said it would doubtless be the pleasure of the members, seeing that each had been furnished with a printed copy of the Report of the Council and of the audited accounts, to take them as read. The Report showed that during the past year the Association had had many interesting meetings, at which important papers had been read, followed by valuable discussions, all of which were fully recorded in the pages of the Journal of the Association. The subjects dealt with were all such as deeply concerned the welfare of India, and were therefore in strict accordance with the object for which the Association was established. He had therefore pleasure in moving that the Report of the Council be taken as read.

Mr. W. T. A. COSBY (Travancore) seconded this proposal, which was adopted *nem. con.*

In proposing that the Report of the Council be adopted, Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD said that it gave him great pleasure to do this, as a favourable comparison with the operations of last year was shown, the Association having gained more support and increased its income.

Mr. W. T. A. COSBY seconded the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN said, he would like to draw attention to the great loss which the Association had sustained by the death of Mr. E. B. Eastwick, C.B. (Hear, hear.) He was sure that all would testify to the aid which Mr. Eastwick had given to the Association, for none had laboured more zealously and perseveringly, or more successfully, than their late friend in their cause; and the meeting

would not like the occasion to pass without recording their sense of the great and deplorable loss the Association had sustained by the too early death of Mr. Eastwick. (Hear, hear.) He would like to add a word also in memory of Mr. J. Bruce Norton, of Madras, a man of remarkable enlightenment and of independent views, who was for many years a steady supporter of this Association.

The Report was then adopted unanimously.

General Sir ORFEUR CAVENAGH moved :—"That the election "of Colonel G. B. Malleson, C.S.I.; General H. Hopkinson, C.S.I.; "J. R. Bullen Smith, Esq., C.S.I.; and H. Stewart Reid, Esq., as "Members of Council be confirmed." General Cavenagh said it afforded him pleasure to do so, because every one of these gentlemen had shown a personal interest in the work of the Association, and was able to further its advancement. Many people might take an interest in the work of the Association, and yet not assist its advancement; but the gentlemen named in the resolution did both, and, as a rule, gave regular attendance at the meetings.

Mr. EDMUND KIMBER seconded this, saying that from what he had seen of the gentlemen named he was sure they would do all they could to arouse in the people of England a sense of the vastness of the trust imposed upon them by the possession of India. The field was ripe for their labours, for there was no doubt whatever that the intelligent electors of this country have already a great respect for the intelligence and law-abiding character of the people of India. The character and feelings and the habits of the ordinary Hindus had been laid before them by many eminent Anglo-Indians, and it had been shown that Englishmen could find much to admire in them. He might venture to add in this connection, that he feared some of the members of the Association viewed the approach of Russia to the North-Western frontier of India with too much complacency. He for one had no great fear of Russian aggression, but one thing was certain, that the Russian approach ought to be taken up at once in a business-like spirit, not a militant, overbearing spirit, by British statesmen. They should conduct themselves as a merchant would upon whose trade a rival was encroaching, or as a landowner whose rights were threatened. What was wanted was a firm, definite and respectful understanding on both sides; and unless that consummation was arrived at it seemed to him that they were in sight of the contingency of extra taxation of the Indian people for the armament

of the frontier. A strong military empire on the borders of India would entail this precaution, and it was now a serious prospect. Mr. Cross had thought it a grand thing to be able to raise a loan of £3,000,000 for India at the same time as £1,500,000 was got for the Southern Mahratta Railway; but Russia raised £15,000,000 in Berlin the other day, and having rehabilitated her credit after the exhaustion of the Turkish War, she may feel herself in no mood to be dictated to, and may feel confident that her credit on the Continent will bear further loans for any purpose upon which she may set her mind. He thought both political parties in this country had been to blame for their indifference on the Russo-Indian question, and he had mentioned it at the meeting because he strongly felt that India was entitled to call for the whole resources of this country should they be needed for her safety and protection.

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD said it was a little inconvenient to discuss political questions at the business meeting of the Association; but, with regard to the alarms alluded to by the previous speaker, he entirely dissented from Mr. Kimber's views of them. He could appeal to Sir Richard Temple's own recollection, that the Russian question was fully examined in the time of the government of Sir John Lawrence, and nothing that had happened since had appreciably altered the soundness of the standfast policy then laid down. One of the difficulties of dealing with India was the perpetual recurrence of these imaginary fears to which, as he thought, Mr. Kimber had given such untimely expression.

The CHAIRMAN said he thought he might venture to suggest that the advance of Russia in Central Asia had very little to do with the question of the election of certain gentlemen to the Council of the Association. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. A. K. SETTNA said he had no intention of opposing the resolution which had been submitted, but he would like to move the addition of a rider as follows:—"That this meeting begs to draw the attention of the Council of this Association to the importance of having more Indian gentlemen on it than are at present, and requesting the Council to adapt its future elections in accordance therewith." His first idea was that the number of Indian members on the Council should be defined, but he was willing to leave the recommendation expressed in general terms. His reasons for the rider consisted in the fact that there had been growing up of late a feeling of dissatisfaction

with the Association by reason of the smallness of the Indian representation on it, and the unwillingness of the Council to alter it. He urged that with a larger Indian representation greater interest in the work of the Association would be manifested amongst the natives of India who came to London. It had been objected that most of the Indians who came hitherto were practically only school-boys; but although this might be partially true, it did not apply to all who came. In urging this recommendation he had no wish to deprecate or decry the work of his Anglo-Indian colleagues on the Council; he merely wished to represent that to express the native views it would be better to have a larger native representation.

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD said he would second Mr. Settna's rider, which was simply a recommendation or suggestion to the Council, with which he had little doubt they would sympathize. But the fact was that there was great difficulty in finding Indian gentlemen who were willing to accept the office. If native gentlemen coming to London would become members of the Association and show a more active interest in its affairs, they would naturally be elected to the Council. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. T. LUXMORE WILSON quite agreed as to the desirability of extending the borders of the Association, but the difficulty was to get the proper men. The great bulk of Indians here were visitors for but a short time, and if Mr. Settna could furnish the name of any native gentleman who could render service on the Council, he was sure his colleagues would be glad.

Gen. Sir ORFEUR CAVENAGH took exception to the remark, which seemed to suggest that there was anything like a feeling in the Council against the admission of natives. On the contrary, the last member elected was a native gentleman, and he was one out of only two duly qualified by the rules of the Association, and he never answered the Council's letter.

Mr. A. K. SETTNA said that last year two Indian gentlemen were proposed for election on the Council, but they were set aside for others. However, he did not wish to raise the question in any ill spirit; he merely desired the Council to keep the suggestion in view, as one likely to advantage the Association and remove that feeling to which he had before alluded.

Mr. C. W. ARATHOON said that of the two native gentlemen

named by Mr. Settna one was ineligible, and the other was only to be in London for a short time. The Council of the Association were quite willing and anxious to have the assistance of native gentlemen of position residing in London.

The resolution, on being put, was unanimously adopted, and subsequently Mr. Settna's rider, as a recommendation to the Council, was also adopted.

The Rev. J. CROMPTON SOWERBUTTS moved:—"That the "eight retiring members of Council be re-elected, viz., the Rajah Rampal Singh, Col. P. T. French, P. Pirie Gordon, Esq., Rev. Jas. Long, Stephen P. Low, Esq., Major-Gen. R. M. Macdonald, Gen. Sir Geo. Malcolm, K.C.B., Capt. W. C. Palmer." The rev. gentleman said these were gentlemen of large experience in Indian affairs, and he had therefore great pleasure in proposing their re-election.

Mr. T. LUXMORE WILSON seconded the motion, which was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. JOHN DACOSTA moved: "That Sir Richard Temple, Bt., G.C.S.I., be re-elected President of the Association for the "ensuing year," adding that he was sure the motion needed no advocacy, for since Sir Richard had been President new life and vigour had been infused into the Association.

Major-General R. M. MACDONALD seconded the motion, which was cordially adopted.

In responding, The CHAIRMAN said he had great pleasure in accepting the honour re-conferred upon him, and he would continue, in the words of the honourable mover, to "infuse new life" in the Association, so far as his opportunities would allow. Not that the Association required "new life," because he believed it to be in vigorous existence. But he quite admitted that persevering effort was required to keep the Association up to the mark, so that it might influence public opinion in this country in regard to the affairs of our great dependency in the East. In reference to the remarks which had fallen from Mr. Settna he would express the hope that the native gentlemen resident in London would become members of the Association and take part in its discussions, and that no feeling of indifference to its work would be allowed to grow up in their minds such as seemed slightly indicated by Mr. Settna. He had no doubt whatever

that if heretofore native gentlemen have not figured largely on the Council, that has been because difficulty had been experienced in finding eligible candidates. The native sojourners in London, if not "school-boys," were for the most part young men here as students in professions which they designed to follow in India, and, even where their studies did not closely engage them, they were "birds of passage." But when there were duly-qualified native gentlemen to be had the Association would have great pleasure in electing them, and he was sure he was expressing the sentiments of the whole of the members when he said this. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD, referring to the passage in the report which stated that in the past year "various matters connected with India have been promoted and advocated," said that it should not be forgotten that the year had been a most eventful one in Indian polity, and that the Association had ventilated two or three of the burning questions—such as the Criminal Jurisdiction Bill and the Bengal Tenancy Bill—in a way that had excited public attention; and the records in the JOURNAL showed that it might fairly be claimed for the Association that it had worked in strict accordance with its principle of allowing all opinions to be heard and debated. Nevertheless they could not be unconscious that among their native constituents in India there had been considerable disappointment at the prevailing tendency of some of these important discussions. It should not be forgotten that the Association had a large native constituency in India, and it was important that they should keep themselves *en rapport* with it as far as possible. It said something for the healthiness of the Association that, by the exercise of mutual forbearance, a period of exceptional storminess had been got through without any undue strain. (Hear, hear.) The Association fulfilled its purpose, and did a practical work by its discussions and papers, but he thought it might do more in a field for which it was originally designed. It was intended, and it had acted, in former years with a direct influence upon the governing authorities here. Without assuming an aggressive attitude or acting in an obnoxious or irritating spirit, he thought there was much room for earnest practical work in drawing the attention of the executive authorities to questions of Indian polity as they arise. Mention was made in the report of two memorials which had been addressed to the Government; but he believed the number of such efforts might be usefully increased, and with the large and experienced Council of the Association such practical work might be easily undertaken. (Hear, hear.)

The business of the sitting being concluded,

General Sir ORFEUR CAVENAGH said that, as Chairman of the Council of the Association, the pleasing duty devolved upon him to move a vote of thanks to Sir Richard Temple, for his kindness in presiding over the meeting. They had already expressed an opinion as to the value of his presidency, and he might add his own feeling that a great debt was due to Sir Richard Temple from the Association, for enabling them to have at their head one who had served so long and so eminently in India, and who manifested so constant an interest in the welfare of the people of the country. The extent and variety of Sir Richard Temple's experience was such, that probably no person now alive could rival it. That in the multiplicity of his public engagements, Sir Richard Temple still contrived to aid the Association with his presence, entitled him to their sincerest thanks. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JOHN SHAW (of Madras) cordially seconded the vote of thanks, which was adopted by acclamation.

Sir RICHARD TEMPLE:—I am much obliged to you, gentlemen, for passing this vote of thanks, and for the kind expressions with which it was accompanied. But I must explain that I am scarcely entitled to it, because to-day I am simply performing the ordinary duties of your President. However, I am much obliged of course by your kind expression, and I only regret that owing to my many avocations in this country, and my absence from town except at this season of the year, I have been unable to attend more of the intermediate meetings. But I am thankful to observe from the report that on every one of these occasions you have been able to obtain a competent—I may say, an eminent—Chairman. I quite endorse the remarks that fell from Mr. Martin Wood, as to the great importance of maintaining the discussions from time to time, and also of our embodying the result of these discussions in some memorial. The test of our working and the outcome of our deliberations is undoubtedly the memorial. Unless you arrive at some such conclusion, embodied in a written statement, you cannot be sure that your work has been effected, or that your labours are likely to be fruitful. Therefore I do hope that whenever you have a discussion you will endeavour to come to some practical issue. I trust that whoever may be selected at the moment to preside upon any intermediate occasion will see to that. I am quite certain that in the present condition of India, and in the present state of public opinion in this country, there will be no lack of burning questions. (Hear, hear.) You may be quite sure

of an unfailing succession of them; and I do hope that those burning questions will be treated in a practical and also in a temperate manner, and that any violent or extreme expressions may be avoided, not only by the Association in its corporate capacity, but also by every member of it, for I can assure you, gentlemen, that now having made it my business since I left India to study public opinion in England, and as I live, move, and have my being amongst British electors, there is nothing does so much harm to the objects which this Association has at heart as the use of unguarded and unmeasured language. You see, when such language is used, the result of it is that one Indian authority can say white and another can say black, and the English public between the two will be utterly confused, and the consequence of such confusion is that neither will be attended to, and neither will be believed. I cannot impress upon you too strongly that most important consideration. We should recollect that in pressing our own views upon any side of an Indian question, we must not press it as if the whole truth was on our side and the whole error was on the other. If we persist in that course we shall undoubtedly meet with apathy and indifference from the people of this country, and I assume, subject to your better knowledge, that such apathy and indifference are the death of an Association of this kind, because unless you can succeed in exciting public opinion towards the interests of India, and in maintaining that excitement, you will fail in obtaining the objects for which the Association was started, and I would reiterate that in order to command that attention, it is necessary that we should be guarded and moderate in our language, taking care to adapt our expressions to the exact condition of the truth, while making due allowance for all that may be said by our opponents on the other side. I hope you will excuse the freedom with which I have made these remarks, but I am certain that they are essential to the welfare of the East India Association, to which I have again the honour of being re-elected. (Cheers.) I am reminded by the Secretary, that several gentlemen have been so kind as to send letters of apology for non-attendance to-day. Amongst those are the names of gentlemen who have long been well-known to this Association, and whose careers are as household words; they are Mr. Robert H. Elliot, the well-known author, Mr. William Tayler, Sir George Balfour, Sir George Malcolm, and Mr. P. Pirie Gordon. All of these express their regret that, owing to illness or previous engagements, they are unable to be with us.

• This terminated the proceedings.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1883-84.

It is with great satisfaction that your Council present to you their Report for the year 1883-4. They congratulate the Members on the marked progress the Association has attained during that period, as the summary of the work done within the period under review shows various matters of public interest connected with India have been promoted and advocated. The Association has published nine Journals containing papers on a variety of subjects, including the two important measures—the Indian Criminal Jurisdiction Bill and the Bengal Tenancy Bill—which have been clearly and impartially placed before the British Public, and fully discussed. With a view to obtain a larger sale for their Journal, and so enlarge the usefulness of the Association, the Council have reduced the price, and have appointed Messrs. W. H. Allen and Co. publishers. The increased number of Journals, and the rapid issue, have augmented the expenditure; but the Council are happy to be able to state that, on the other hand, the income has been larger, owing to an increase of Members and a larger sale of Journals. Some large arrears of subscriptions, too, have been paid up, in a great measure owing to the assistance rendered by the Chairman of the Council, to whom the Members desire to offer their thanks for the active and warm interest he has at all times displayed for the welfare of the Association.

Mr. Alexander Rogers, one of the Trustees, having retired from the Association, the Council has appointed the Rajah Rampal Singh and Mr. Robert H. Elliot in his place, in addition to Mr. P. P. Gordon and Mr. W. Martin Wood.

The use of the Rooms of the Association allowed for *The Voice of India* proving inconvenient to Members, the Council resolved upon its discontinuance.

The Council finding that Mr. George Foggo, Mr. George Palmer, and Mr. O. C. Mullick, had not attended the Council Meetings for six calendar months, and that the latter had left for India, decided that under bye-law i. they had vacated their seats.

LOSSES BY DEATH.

The Council regret to have to record the death of Mr. E. B. Eastwick, C.B., their late Chairman, which occurred very shortly after

his resignation of the Chairmanship and his acceptance of the office of Vice-President. An obituary notice of his death is given in Vol. XV, p. 239, of the JOURNAL.

The Council have also to record the deaths of the following Members :—

John Bruce Norton, Esq., Mirza Peer Bukhsh, H. F. Whyte, Esq., and D. D. Cama, Esq.

RESIGNATION OF MEMBERS.

The Council have to report the resignation of the following Members :—

Major-General F. Applegath, C. N. Banerjee, Esq., M. D. Dadysett, Esq., William Digby, Esq., C.I.E., C. Forjett, Esq., Hamid Ali Khan, Esq., Colonel W. Nassau Lees, Dr. M. D. Makuna, and the Marquis of Salisbury.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

The following gentlemen have been elected Members of the Association since the last Annual Meeting :—

Henry George Keene, Esq., C.I.E., R. H. Wallace Dunlop, Esq., C.B., Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., Colonel G. Bruce Malleon, C.S.I., M. Abdool Majid, Esq., Donald Horne Macfarlane, Esq., M.P., Louis H. Mylne, Esq., Syed Tajamal Hossein Khan, Rev. James Johnston, F. B. Chatterjee, Esq., Mancherjee M. Bhownaggre, Esq., Major-General H. Hopkinson, C.S.I., W. Chichele Plouden, Esq., Sir James Caird, K.C.B., David S. White, Esq., Donald N. Reid, Esq., Richard W. Crowther, Esq., Hugh Rowland Cooke, Esq., Rev. Ebenezer Le Mare, the Honourable Syed Mahmood, Colonel Keith Jopp, W. T. A. Cosby, Esq., Fung Yee, Esq., Henry Stewart Reid, Esq., Griffin W. Vyse, Esq., Rev. John Crompton Sowerbutts, Lieut.-General W. W. Anderson, Robert Gordon Orr, Esq., Maharajah Radha Pershad Singh Bahadour, C. T. Buckland, Esq., and Cornelius B. Pare, Esq.

The following gentlemen have been elected Members of the Council since the last Meeting :—

Colonel G. B. Malleon, C.S.I., Major-General H. Hopkinson, C.S.I., J. R. Bullen-Smith, Esq., C.S.I., and H. Stewart Reid, Esq.

According to the terms of Article 8, the following Members of the Council retire by rotation, and the Council recommend their re-election :—

Raja Rampal Singh, Lieut.-Colonel P. T. French, P. Pirie Gordon,

Esq., Rev. James Long, Stephen P. Low, Esq., Major-General R. M. Macdonald, General Sir George Malcolm, K.C.B., and Captain W. C. Palmer.

Memorials on the following subjects have been presented :—

(1) To the Chancellor of the Exchequer (upon whom a deputation subsequently waited), on the Gold and Silver Duties and the laws of Hall-Marking (*see* p. 32 of the present volume).

(2) To the Secretary of State for India on Railways and other Public Works (*see* p. 33 of the present volume).

The Council are glad to observe that on the former subject notices of motions have been given in the House of Commons by Sir George Balfour and Mr. Slagg; and with respect to the latter, the Association has been officially requested to nominate a representative to appear before the Select Committee.

The following Papers have been read since the last annual meeting :—

LIBERAL PRINCIPLES IN INDIA.

On Friday afternoon, May 18th, 1883, a Meeting was held in the Council Room, Exeter Hall, under the Presidency of the Right Honourable Lord Stanley of Alderley, when Mr. H. G. Keene, C.I.E., read a paper entitled "Liberal Principles in India."

Mr. Keene begged leave to premise that this title was not intended to convey a party meaning; for a dependency such as India was not of a nature to be discussed on the grounds of party. He was willing to spell liberal with a small "l," provided he could establish that the principles were beneficial to India. They had not made their first appearance there in British hands. The Vedic Aryans possessed the germ of liberal principles, and preserved them through long succeeding ages. Akbar anticipated almost all the great liberal measures that the British have revived. His great-grandson, Arrungzebe, revived that policy, and before his death Rajputs, Sikhs, and Mahrattas were in insurrection in the different quarters of the Empire. In 1719 the throne devolved on a collateral, who took the name of Muhamad Shah, and reigned for twenty-eight years; but his reign is only noticeable for the constant progress of the three classes of Hindu rebels, and for the crushing invasion of Nadir Shah, when 120,000 of the citizens of Delhi were massacred, and property estimated at eighty millions taken away. But a new set of intruders were at hand. Beginning in Southern India the French and English gradually made all India the

battle-field of their rivalries. The preponderance of the English, due to the genius and tenacity of Robert Clive, forced the foreign Europeans into subordinate positions. All were ambitious—mostly unscrupulously covetous. But liberal principles are the seeds which Europe must carry in her bosom, and which her sons, whether they intend it or not, must scatter as they go. In 1833, when the Company's Charter was renewed for the last time but one, there was a great prevalence of those principles all over the world, and great and organic reform was set on foot in India soon after the granting of that Charter. Akbar tried in vain to restrain the Hindus from burning widows alive. Lord Bentinck put down the practice, and an Act permitting the re-marriage of Hindu widows stands on the Statute Book, by no means a dead letter. India has the best code of Penal Law in the world, and many chapters of the Civil Law have been similarly consolidated with excellent general results. The Civil Courts of first instance are entirely manned by native judges, who sit without juries, and have unlimited jurisdiction without distinction of creed or colour. More than this, a native judge has a seat on the bench of every one of the four High Courts constituted in the various provinces, which hear causes criminal and civil with scarcely any appellate control at all. On the other hand, it was his decided opinion that the Criminal Jurisdiction Bill, now exciting objection, of which an echo had reached this country, was so far open to objection that it was for the present uncalled for, and introduced without due consideration for the feelings of the British denizens of India. By the last news from India it would seem that some concession was contemplated. He for one hoped that this might be so, and that the Bill, having gone so far, would pass into law with due modification.

The other great liberal step had already been taken. He was sure that as the Jurisdiction Bill was logically right, so, as a principle, local self-government was desirable on all grounds. It was one to which the people were accustomed, and it was flattering to their feelings, as well as beneficial to their interests, that it should be extended as much as possible.

A discussion followed the reading, which, with the Paper, will be found reported in full in Vol. XV, pages 93-132 of *The Journal of the Association*.

THE DUMB SHALL SPEAK AND THE DEAF SHALL HEAR; OR THE RYOT,
THE ZEMINDAR, AND THE GOVERNMENT.

A largely attended Meeting was held on Friday afternoon, June 1st,

in the Lower Hall, Exeter Hall, under the Presidency of the Right Honourable Sir Bartle Frere, Bart., K.C.B., G.C.S.I., when a long and elaborate paper by Miss Florence Nightingale was read for her by Mr. Frederick Verney.

Arguing that the new Bengal Rent Law Bill, which will decide the fate of about sixty millions, does not violate the permanent settlement of Bengal, but will give to the zemindars prosperous paying tenants instead of rack-rented runaways, Miss Nightingale urged that the remedies for the present state of things in India are—Fixity of tenure, fair rents (in a country where from time immemorial the ryot's right to have his payments fixed by the authority of Government has been recognized), a public record of holdings, disability of the ryot to contract himself out of his rights, and effective penalties for illegal exactions. As indirect remedies, Miss Nightingale recommended the revival of village communities and encouragement of trades and industries in a country which is now almost wholly out of tillage.

A discussion followed the reading of the paper, which, with the paper, will be found reported in full in Vol. XV, pages 163-238, of *The Journal of the Association*.

IS THE ATTEMPT TO PASS THE CRIMINAL JURISDICTION BILL CALCULATED
TO PROMOTE THE PUBLIC INTERESTS AND WELFARE OF THE
INHABITANTS OF INDIA GENERALLY?

On Wednesday afternoon, June 13th, 1883, a large and influential Meeting of Members and friends of the Association was held in St. James's Hall Banquet Room, under the Presidency of Colonel The Right Honourable Lord Ellenborough, when Mr. Robert H. Elliot, of Clifton Park, Kelso, sometime planter in Mysore, and a well-known writer on Indian topics, read a paper entitled, "Is the attempt to pass the Criminal Jurisdiction Bill calculated to promote the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally?"

Addressing himself to the consideration whether the Bill is calculated to promote the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally, Mr. Elliot—although claiming to have persistently advocated liberal measures for the extension of free institutions to the Indian people—strongly urged that this measure should be put aside until it can be introduced and passed without risk of producing ill-blood between sections of the dwellers in the country. The greatest public interest in India was the general extension of the means of obtaining cheap capital to develop and diversify the resources of the country, and the proof now being afforded that there

were still elements of race-hatred to be kindled in a blaze, would operate to keep capital away from India, or make it only obtainable at onerous rates. Moreover, the whole dispute regarding the Bill had drifted into an English party question, and the fact that a controversy affecting Indian property and capital might come to be decided, not on the merits of the question, but by the strength of Parliamentary parties composed mainly of men who know nothing of India, must operate as a strong deterrent to the prudent capitalist. The course for the educated native in the present exigency seemed plain. Recognizing that if he successfully pressed the interests of his class, he must injure the best and most vital interests of his country, he should say to the State that while abstract justice should commend the Bill, events have proved that "the moment is unfavourable, and "that the measure should be deferred until it can be enacted without "risk to the broad national interests of India."

A prolonged discussion followed the reading of this paper, which was continued at an adjourned Meeting held on Wednesday afternoon, June 27th, in the Lower Hall, Exeter Hall, under the Presidency of Lord Stanley of Alderley.

Full reports of these two Meetings will be found Vol. XV, pages 243-324, of *The Journal of the Association*.

THE POONA RAIYAT'S BANK : A PRACTICAL EXPERIMENT.

A very largely attended and influential Meeting was held in the Lower Hall, Exeter Hall, on Wednesday afternoon, July 4th, 1883, under the Presidency of the Right Honourable Mr. John Bright, M.P., when Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., read a paper entitled "The "Poona Raiyat's Bank : a Practical Experiment," descriptive of the working of the experimental bank in the Poonah District and the prospect afforded by it of relieving the ryots from their ruinous dependence on the money-lenders. Among the leading advantages of such a financing system in India, Sir William Wedderburn cited the large margin of profit on cultivation when capital provided irrigation and manure; the high merits of the ryot as an honest debtor; the existence of a skilled agency for money lending; and the favourable attitude of the Government.

A discussion followed the reading of the paper, which, with the paper, will be found reported in full in Vol. XV, pages 325-366, of *The Journal of the Association*.

The Council are pleased to observe that the matter has since been taken up by the Government of India.

EURASIAN AND ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATIONS OF INDIA.

A Meeting was held on Monday afternoon, July 30th, 1883, in the Council Room, Exeter Hall, the Right Honourable Lord Stanley presiding, when papers were read by Mr. D. S. White (President of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association of Southern India), Mr. David Sutherland, Barrister-at-Law, and the Rev. James Long.

Mr. D. S. White explained that the associations of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, were formed in consequence of the position of the Eurasians and domiciled Europeans, and the increasing difficulty they experienced in finding the means of living in decency. These communities in India were the nearest to England in thought and other circumstances. If, therefore, it was considered essential that the civilization and thought of Europe should supplant or modify the ancient civilization and thought of India, then he urged that it was of the utmost importance so to encourage Eurasians and domiciled Europeans as to enable them to act as models which the other native races might copy with benefit to themselves and advantage to the British Government in India. Mr. Sutherland, whose paper was read by Mr. White, he himself having returned to India, pointed out that Indian towns were being gradually, if not rapidly, filled with a resident Christian population of pure English or mixed descent, who were English for the most part in their habits and sympathies, and who on critical occasions had displayed the courage, the high principle, and the love of freedom of their father-race. The circumstances surrounding the origin of the Anglo-Indian community made the great bulk of them poor even to chronic distress; nevertheless they had, entirely unaided by Government, built up schools and other institutions, supplied public servants for all branches of the administration, sent a fair proportion of their youth to Europe for education, and in the fighting seasons of British rule had fought and died like Englishmen. But the Anglo-Indian, Indo-European, or Eurasian classes, suffered many serious grievances at the hands of the Indian Government, and the chief of these were a deprivation of facilities for education which were conceded to the native Indians, their virtual exclusion from the covenanted Civil Service, the military, medical, ecclesiastical, and pilot services, the bench of the high courts, and seats in the legislative councils; while not a single Anglo-Indian had ever been selected for distinction, though titles and honours had been indiscriminately showered upon Europeans and natives on the occasions of public celebrations and rejoicings.

A discussion followed the reading, which, with the paper, will be

found reported in full in Vol. XV, pages 375-444, of *The Journal of the Association*.

The Council regret that but little interest appeared to be taken by the public in this important subject, and it is to be hoped that a paper which has been prepared by Archdeacon Baly will attract more attention.

THE MISCHIEF THREATENED BY THE BENGAL TENANCY BILL.

On Wednesday afternoon, October 31st, 1883, a largely-attended Meeting was held in St. James's Hall Banquet Room, Regent Street, under the Presidency of the Right Hon. Lord Stanley of Alderley, for the purpose of considering a paper by Mr. Roper Lethbridge, C.I.E., late Press Commissioner of India, entitled "The Mischief Threatened by the Bengal Tenancy Bill."

Mr. Lethbridge began by saying that the Bengal Tenancy Bill was modestly intituled by Mr. Ilbert "A Bill to amend and consolidate certain enactments relating to the law of landlord and tenant within the territories under the administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal." However, it declared "Nothing in this Act shall affect any enactment regulating the procedure for the realization of rents in estates belonging to the Government or under the management of the Court of Wards, or of the Revenue authorities." But except in the case of the population of these estates, it seemed that Mr. Ilbert's proposals threatened to turn the whole social fabric of the great agricultural community of Bengal upside down and inside out. Having sketched the leading features of the proposed legislation, he remarked that it would be generally acknowledged that all, and more than all, the most rasping conditions of recent Irish legislation—fixity of tenure, fair rent, free sale, compensation for disturbance, abolition of power of contract, and, in fact, the solid programme of the most "advanced" school—were about to be introduced at a rush into Bengal, a country that differed as widely from Ireland, in every political and economical aspect, as it was possible for any two countries to differ; while all these enormously valuable rights, filched from the zemindars in defiance of the most solemn pledges of the British Government in the permanent settlement, and reducing them to the position of "mere ciphers upon their estates," were to be conferred upon not the actual cultivators, but what would practically be a newly-created class of middlemen, against whom the actual cultivators would possess no rights whatever, not even those rights which they now possessed against the zemindars. The ryots were not only

promised by the Bill a sudden and outrageous extension of their occupancy-rights which they had been hitherto peacefully and quietly acquiring, but they were also to be endowed with the power of free sale of these rights—a power that was absolutely foreign to all the customs and traditions of the country. After combating the arguments urged in favour of the Bill, he showed how the British Government, in the time of Lord Cornwallis, made the most solemn promises to the landowners of Bengal, believed that those promises would be held binding on us “for ever,” and persuaded the zemindars to trust in the “permanence” of the settlement then effected. He quoted Mr. Ilbert to indicate how divergent were the opinions of the present Government of India from those of the statesmen and legislators who preceded them. He asked whether an arrangement that deprived the landowners of all effective control over the land which was nominally theirs—an arrangement that left them all the responsibility towards the Government, while it threw insuperable difficulties in the way of their choosing good tenants (or even of refusing hostile tenants), of securing adequate rents, of obtaining prompt payment, of getting deliverance from turbulent or dishonest tenants—he asked whether such an arrangement was not a violation of all those pledges, on the faith of which land in Bengal had been bought and sold, had been dealt with by the Legislature, and been adjudicated upon by the Courts for the last ninety years? In conclusion, Mr. Lethbridge predicted that after the Bill became law, if it became law at all, it would be found that the Government had effaced the present land system in Bengal to give the soil and its cultivators over as a prey to money-lenders and land-jobbers, who would rack-rent their under-tenants on purely commercial principles.

A discussion followed the reading of the paper, which, with the paper, will be found reported in full in Vol. XV, pages 445-514, of *The Journal of the Association*.

THE INDIAN RAILWAY POLICY.

On Thursday afternoon, November 29, 1883, a largely attended Meeting was held in the Lower Hall, Exeter Hall, under the Presidency of Lient.-General W. Warden Anderson, when Mr. Edmund Kimber read a paper entitled “The Indian Railway Policy.”

Mr. Kimber said it was clear upon referring to a report for 1882-3, bearing Colonel Stanton’s name, which had been presented to Parliament, that both Colonel Stanton and Major Baring had acqui-

esced in a certain policy which they thought the Imperial Government ought to carry out. What that policy was they did not tell the public, and though Lord Kimberley and the Council of State must have been in possession of it for many months, they did not condescend to inform the British public what it was. What could these recommendations be? It would not be surprising to find that they were such as would promote the construction of railways on strictly business principles without any of those paternal intermeddlings which were so often the vices of all despotic Governments. Once put the native princes and the British capitalists face to face without tedious routine, red-tape delay and regulations, and railway business would flow on as easily as it did in the United States. Secrecy in a great question like that was the very worst method of government. He was afraid, however, that under the present Administration progress could not even be hoped for. In the year 1880-81, 838 miles were constructed; in 1881-2, only 726; and in 1882-3, only 373. They had no less a mileage than 5262 positively recommended to be constructed by the Public Works Department in India, and practically no policy whatever as to how it was to be done. The British public were ready to invest even £50,000,000 a year if they had the chance; but this was denied them. Routine and red-tape were at the bottom of it. It was simply absurd to spend £2,500,000 a year out of income when that very amount of income could be made subservient to getting £50,000,000. Far better would it be to lay down a regular Lands Clauses Consolidation Act and a Railway Clauses Act for India and establish a regular tribunal before which every application for a railway project could be made, just as they were made in this country to the Houses of Parliament. An Englishman would let his money go into any country or any enterprise so long as he thought it was safe, and would yield a good return; and unless the Imperial Government of India could shake off its despotism and submit itself to the wisdom of ordinary tradesmen, it would wither like grass. It was that policy which drove capital from the country and enabled Americans to compete against Englishmen for Indian schemes. Already the whole of the stock of the Bombay Tramways was held at New York, and powerful American financiers were the first applicants for Indian railways. Unfortunately, the Americans also felt the incubus of the intolerable officialism exercised over railways, and though they were willing to work amicably and heartily with both native and European, they found themselves fettered with a policy springing from an authority which did not know its own mind.

A discussion followed the reading, which, with the paper, will be

found reported in full in *The Journal of the Association*, pages 1-31, of the present volume.

THE ENGLISH DUTIES ON GOLD AND SILVER PLATE: THEIR SPECIAL
INJUSTICE AS AFFECTING THE INDIAN SILVER CRAFTSMAN.

At a Meeting held on Thursday afternoon, February 28th, 1884, in the Council Room, Exeter Hall, under the Presidency of General Sir Orfeur Cavenagh, K.C.S.I., Mr. C. McKay Smith read a paper on "The English Duties on Gold and Silver Plate: their special injustice as affecting the Indian Silver Craftsman."

Mr. McKay Smith showed that the tax on silver plate was really a double tax. Besides a duty of eighteenpence per ounce, there is the twopence or so per ounce paid for Hall-marking. Under "every consideration of enlightened public policy" this double tax ought to be abolished. Why, he asked, should the Government trouble itself with a man's spoons and forks any more than his wines and clothing? Such taxes hamper an important trade, obstruct the culture of a refined and beautiful art, and drive many of our best artisans away to other countries, such as America, where the art is better appreciated. Since 1855 the home demand for silver plate has fallen by one-third down to 1880, and is still one-fourth below the figures for thirty years ago. Compared with 1855, the export demand has not risen. This cannot be wholly ascribed to the growth of the electro-plate trade. The drawback on exports is neutralized by the working of the Custom House rules, so that some firms would rather sacrifice the drawback than let their goods be handled by dock workmen. The hall-marking system keeps the best class of foreign wares out of the market, and entirely prevents the use of mixed metals in manufacture. It is a question whether our silver manufacture is not actually retrograding; and it is certainly wanting in artistic excellence and variety. If the duties were removed, our manufacturers would suffer no permanent loss. They would only "wake up to the need of doing their best." And the duties, as they stand, are specially unjust to the Indian silversmith, whose best work is altogether shut out of our markets, for no intelligible reason except that the Lords of the Treasury refuse to "disturb the financial equilibrium of the Budget" in order to get rid of a tax as paltry as it is mischievous and contrary to all sound fiscal rules. The question of drawbacks is not worth considering, in Mr. McKay Smith's opinion. Hundreds of duties have been repealed in the last thirty years, but he can remember no instance of drawback allowed except on paper. "In all others, people were allowed to bear their loss as best

"they might," and we do not hear of their posing as martyrs. Why then should holders of duty-paid silver goods be set apart as a peculiar people, "untouched by the vicissitudes which beset their fellow-men?"

A discussion followed the reading of the paper, which, with the paper, will be found reported in *The Journal of the Association*, pages 37-87, of the present volume.

INDIAN PAUPERISM, FREE TRADE, AND RAILWAYS.

A Meeting of the Members and friends was held in the Council Room, Exeter Hall, on Tuesday afternoon, March 18th, 1884, under the Presidency of General Sir Orfeur Cavenagh, K.C.S.I., when Mr. A. K. Connell, M.A., read a paper on "Indian Pauperism, Free Trade, and "Railways."

Mr. Connell urged that there was great danger that the self-interested clamours of some few powerful commercial classes in England would be allowed to drown the voices of the unrepresented millions of India on the question of railway extension. Analyzing the published statistics, he deduced that the official contention that Indian railways are now paying their way is very far from justifiable, and that the economic consequences of railway construction in India, as a rule, have been injurious, by extinguishing native industries dissociated with agriculture, and throwing artisans back upon the already overcrowded soil. What India requires, Mr. Connell contended, is not the development of its resources by external capital, but the diversion of its revenues into internal channels. There ought to be the most thorough-going retrenchment in the Public Works and Military establishments, and, above all, in the home remittances of all sorts, so that the country may be able to accumulate capital—now getting scarcer year by year. And if in the future there is a really popular demand for more railways, and native capitalists come forward, as they have done for some of the cheaper railway shares, then the Public Works policy may be again considered. But it is above all things necessary not to give a merely artificial and external stimulus to a long settled status.

A discussion followed the reading, which, with the paper, will be found reported in full in *The Journal of the Association*, pages 89-148, of the present volume.

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The Council tender their best thanks to the Proprietors of the following Papers, who present copies for the use of the Reading-room, where they may be daily read by members of the Association :—

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Report on the Census of British India taken on the 17th February, 1881. Vols. I, II, III. By W. Chichele Plowden. From the Author.

Guide to the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Villages proposed to be established in the Province of Mysore. From D. S. White.

GENERAL ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

CASH ACCOUNT, from 1st May, 1883, to 30th April, 1884.

DR.		RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.		CR.	
1883.	£ s. d.	1884.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
May 1.—To BALANCE at Bankers	341	4	5	April 30th.—By Rent	90	0	
" in hand	8	8	4	Housekeeper, Coal and Gas	29	5	
Subscriptions received				Salaries	180	0	
Advertisements in <i>Journal</i> and Sundry				Printing	268	3	
Receipts	61	17	5	Reporting and Paragraphing	108	8	
Interests on Investments in London	39	12	11	Hire of Hall for Lectures	33	12	
" in India	369	9	6	Newspapers and Books	19	7	
				Bookbinding	4	13	
				Stationery	10	1	
				Postage	32	8	
				Advertising	13	6	
				Freight and Box	4	17	
				Furniture	4	11	
				Law Charges	4	7	
				BALANCE at Bankers	229	4	
				" in hand	7	7	
					236	12	
					£1040	5	
					7	7	

BALANCE SHEET, April 30th, 1884.

ASSETS.

£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Investments in England: Rs. 10,900 in Four Per Cent. Loan, 1875... ..	908
" Government Promissory Notes for Rs. 1500	125
Furniture and Fixtures, London	197
Library	166
Balance of Bank and Cash Account	236
	£1573
	9

LIABILITIES.

General Fund Balance carried forward £1573 9 9

• 15th May, 1884.

Examined with Ledger and Vouchers and found correct.

R. M. MACDONALD,
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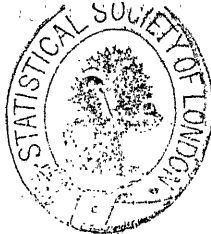
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JOURNAL

OF THE

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,

Instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

"SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDIA."

Being the subject of an extempore Speech and Discussion on the subjoined

PAPER BY DR. G. W. LEITNER, LL.D.,

COMMUNICATED TO THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,
ON TUESDAY, MAY 27th, 1884.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BART., G.C.S.I.,

IN THE CHAIR.

A MEETING of the members and friends of the East India Association was held at the Westminster Town Hall, on Tuesday, May 27th, 1884, the subject for consideration being "The Indigenous Elements of Self-Government in India, especially in the Panjab, and in matters of Education," introduced in a paper by Dr. G. W. Leitner, LL.D., &c.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, Bart., G.C.S.I., President of the Association, occupied the chair, and amongst those present were the following:—Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I.; General Sir Orfeur Cavenagh, K.C.S.I.; General St. Clair Wilkins; Major-General R. M. Macdonald; Colonel Britten; Colonel Itaf Ali, of Kapurthala; Captain W. A. Fenner; Rajah Rampal Singh; Rev. Dr. R. G. Padenoch; Rev. J. N. Baldwin; Rev. W. Gray; Rev. James Johnston; Rev. J. S. Jones; Rev. G. Small, M.A.; Rev. J. Crompton Sowerbutts; Dr. Hyde Clarke; Dr. and Mrs. Duka; Dr. Heinemann; Dr. Augustus Hess; Dr. Pringle; Dr. Schneider; Dr. and Mrs. T. H. Thornton;

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In opening the proceedings the CHAIRMAN said:—Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have now the pleasure of introducing to this meeting Dr. Leitner, who will read a paper, or rather make a speech to you, regarding the possibilities of local self-government in the Panjab. Now, ladies and gentlemen, Dr. Leitner is peculiarly, I may say extraordinarily, qualified to address you upon this subject, because he has been in the Panjab itself for, I believe, nearly twenty years; before that time he had also been in the British service as interpreter to the administrative departments of the Army during one of our wars, and also been a professor of some of the Asiatic languages in one of the colleges of England; but since 1864 he has played a distinguished part in the educational service of the Panjab. During that time he has rendered signal services to the State, not only in his official capacity, but also as a private gentleman. He has more than any other person living been instrumental to the establishment of the University of the Panjab. He has also been largely concerned in the establishment of the Oriental College there. He has set on foot various literary and educational enterprises for the benefit of the natives, such as free libraries, vernacular journals, and the like. He has been one of the leading spirits in the Association, known locally in the Panjab as the Anjuman-i-Panjab Association, an Association which performs very much the same sort of duty as this Association is performing in England, though I am afraid that the Anjuman-i-Panjab is in that respect perhaps more effective and potential than we are here. At all events it has been, and I trust will long continue to be a valuable organ of native opinion, and it enables and will enable the Government and the people of England to understand better the thoughts, feelings and sentiments, of an important section of our Indian fellow-subjects. You are aware

that hitherto the voice of India has mainly been heard through the lips of natives of Bengal, Bombay and Madras—I mean the presidency capitals; but by means of the Anjuman-i-Panjab, and under the encouragement of such men as Dr. Leitner, we shall be able to hear the voice of those brave and enduring tribes and races that inhabit the north-west portion of India,—a portion as important as any to the future stability of our Empire in the East. The subject upon which Dr. Leitner will address you is that, as I have explained, of local self-government in the Panjab, or the possibilities of it; that is, the means which exist locally for the establishment of such local self-government. Such resources no doubt are numerous, and the effect of our discussion will, I hope, tend towards the preservation of all the ancient and traditional institutions of India. I would again press upon you the importance of being moderate in this as in all other matters, not only in our ideas, but also in our expressions, because I must warn you, ladies and gentlemen, that a certain amount of feeling has already been excited in England adverse to the admission of natives of India suddenly to too large a share in local self-government. If you advocate local self-government in what may be called extravagant or inflated language, if you surround the subject with what may be called tortuous ideas, you will frighten the steady-going and sober-minded people of this country, and that fear and apprehension will of course act at once upon the Government of India, and the concession of a reasonable boon may be long delayed or may be very much impaired. But if in scrupulously guarded and carefully restricted terms you ask for the concession to the natives of a reasonable degree of power in the management of their own local affairs, then I think that that sort of concession is sure to be granted, and it will be the beginning—perhaps you will consider it a very small beginning, but still it will be a beginning—of greater things to come hereafter. It will enable the natives to show more and more what they can do; and you know that progress in England is always of a tentative and gradual character. I am sure it will always be the wish of those classes in England who dominate public opinion, that the same sort of institutions which have been so eminently successful here should be founded in the East; but the impression will exist that institutions of this kind are not founded in a day, or even in a century, but they must, like the old English oak, spring from the acorn of long and steady growth, if they are to attain to real strength and maturity. I hope that these limitations will be borne in mind by this Association in

its advocacy of this question; and also I trust that we shall be careful not to give people in England the impression that the European element will be excluded from local self-government in India, or that public servants will be excluded either; because you may depend upon it that the confidence of the people of England will be in that way alienated. If the impression should gain ground that the influence and authority of the Indian public servants may be undermined, then I predict—I do not merely think, but I venture to predict—that the project of local self-government will be viewed in England at least with considerable mistrust. There again, I hope, that a wise limitation will be judiciously observed by this Association. Now, gentlemen, I will not detain you any longer, because I am sure you must be anxious to hear the very interesting speech which will be made to you by Dr. Leitner. I may add, before I resume my seat, that Dr. Leitner is not only distinguished as a manager of men, especially Asiatic men, and as an educational authority, but he is also an explorer, an antiquarian, and a linguist. I can hardly venture to give you the statistics of all the languages and dialects which Dr. Leitner can speak, read and write, but I believe there are few men living who know colloquially, and also in a scholarlike manner, more languages than he does. And among other things you will find that though he is not by blood an Englishman, though of course he is English in thought and sentiment, and English by naturalization, you will find that he has a great command of our noble and comprehensive language. You will find, I am sure, from the speech he is about to deliver to you, that he is a master of effective, vigorous, persuasive, and even poetic expression in the English tongue. (Cheers.)

Dr. LEITNER:—After such a very complimentary introduction by Sir Richard Temple, one would feel inclined to hide one's diminished head, especially as what I intend to offer to you is not exactly a speech, but a few remarks upon the paper which has been circulated, I think, to all of you. I was very glad indeed to find corroborated in Sir Richard Temple's speech what I always felt to be the case, that the Panjab has still remained the province of his warmest affection, as it has been that of his earliest official career and great and deserved success. (Cheers.) I was still more glad to find that Sir Richard Temple impressed upon you the desirability, in the very interests of the natives themselves, of caution in advocating their rights, or in submitting their grievances. Above all, did it seem to me that he laid stress upon our supporting those elements in Indian

society that favour the cause of order—those elements which have a stake in the country, either by the proved chivalry to which he has alluded, or by landed property, or by being the depositories of the ancient learning of the country. Indeed, it was by appealing to them and by appealing on traditional grounds, that I was able to do what has been so abundantly recognized in the introductory remarks from the chair; and it is this key to their sympathies which I should wish everyone of you to possess. Indeed, the reluctance to take possession of it, would account for any failure in the otherwise well-intentioned reforms, that we all have at heart in one way or another. Before I begin to make a running comment upon the paper, I think I may mention that just before I got to this hall, I received a letter from Mr. Fawcett, expressing a deep interest in the proceedings, and hoping that, should he be prevented from coming, the printed report would be sent to him. A letter has also been received from Sir William Rose Anderson, who officiated for a time as Governor of Madras, in which he expresses the hope that self-government will tend to revive the Hindu village constitution, which our centralization has tended to strangle. Other letters have also been received expressing regret at inability to attend.

“Who is who?” is a question which it is absolutely necessary to ask in connection with every Indian matter under inquiry. Authorities, or supposed authorities, have the most divergent views on almost every Indian subject, so that it becomes important to ask this question. India is such a large continent that if you take facts from various parts of it and put them together, you may establish almost any view. To introduce a man, say to a British audience, as “a native of India,” is very much like introducing a man as “a native of Europe,” and to mention that “Mr. Bhose,” or “Mr. Datt, of India,” will lecture on an Indian question, is very much like the announcement in a provincial town of “the celebrated Mr. Jones, of London,” which is not sufficient for identification. (Laughter.) In India, more than elsewhere, is it necessary to have a Debrett of the principal men of the country. It is not one country, it is not one nation, and it is most desirable, I think, in the interests of liberty itself, and of self-government, that there should not be such a nation. There are large numbers divided not only by religion but also by different ethnic origins. We talk of the subject of caste, and wish caste to be abolished; but we are often expressing a wish not very dissimilar to that which we should express if we said that by such and such a course of reform we wished an Englishman to become a Frenchman, or a Frenchman to become a German. Castes are broad divisions; sometimes they run

parallel with races; at other times with professions; often they allow greater latitude than we possess anywhere in Europe in class distinctions. I may explain what I mean by an illustration :—The other day, at a meeting of that most excellent society called the “National Indian Association,” the Secretary of which, Miss Manning, has my profound respect and admiration, the question of child-marriage was discussed. At that meeting the speakers were six natives, five of whom belonged to the Kayastha caste. I am not saying this with any disrespect to that caste; but that discussion went forth as the voice of India, whereas it was merely the voice of the most radical and advanced members of a mixed caste in Lower Bengal. The first gentleman who spoke was a Ghose, and he spoke as became a leader in such a caste; the second was a Bhowe, the third was a Mitter, the fourth was a Datta, the fifth, again, a worthy young Kayastha of the North-West Provinces. There was only one Englishman amongst the speakers, and he simply made a few remarks as to the number of widows, which he supposed he might accurately derive from the census returns. Now, I appeal to you whether it was in the interests of India, or in the interests of the subject, that a certain caste, the radical members of which are known to possess certain views, no doubt deserving of consideration, as the views of any body of men, or of any sub-section, or of any individual, however lowly, deserve consideration—should, before an English audience, pass as the exponent of a mighty continent of 254 millions of people? It is not desirable in the interests of liberty, or in the interest of that self-government of which I have been a humble advocate for many years, through good report and evil report, that there should be such a thing as, say, an European nation. So also is there no Indian nation, but there is an Indian Empire, as there was a Roman Empire, in which there exist numerous nations, which at present form a *political* body, only to be cemented by the same loyalty to the State, but which, in other respects, should and will preserve their individuality, in spite of the efforts of ill-advised reformers to create an Indian nation out of the Adullamites from various castes and tribes, as if the cause of true liberty and progress would be advanced by, for instance, merging an independent Belgium or free Switzerland into a so-called nation of European Socialists, groaning under the same doctrinaire yoke. One of the reasons why Indian subjects, even including those on Arts and Sciences, are less popular than they ought to be, is that they are treated in an encyclopædic fashion. If we had books on “the public opinion of Europe,” for instance, with regard to our Franchise Bill, or if we had books regarding “the architecture of Europe,” they would only

have a deserving place on the shelves of a library of reference. There is a great deal too much made—and I say it in the interests of men for whom I have myself done a great deal (though I perhaps say it who should not)—there is a great deal too much made of the ardent and well-intentioned young native gentlemen who come to this country. They are introduced into an atmosphere to which they find no parallel on their return. What we want is that they shall become better lawyers, better medical men, and better all round, but we do not wish to lose their services for the benefit of their fellow-natives in India by their having been made, during their stay in England, political oracles or curiosities. (Laughter.) It is not to their own interest. What we have seen of these gentlemen on their return has been not exactly failure in their profession, but not that abundant success such as should be derivable from the leaders of their respective professions in this country. We do not find them frequent the British Museum with the assiduity of the English student; such places do not boast their presence; but we find them pampered in society, to their own great detriment, and to the loss of their country. Four-fifths of the so-called educated young men of my province, especially since the abolition of the Delhi College, have passed through my hands, and I may say that of those, again, perhaps nine-tenths owe their appointments mainly to me, or, at any rate, to my recommendation. They are living examples, as a rule, of the fact that if there is anything de-nationalizing, it is the introduction of European ideas of Reform, or of European modes of expression, which are not based on those ancient associations which, as your Chairman has suggested, have to be developed in their and our best interests. They, unlike the non-anglicized native, are not distinguished by liberality to an endowment or other charity, because English education chiefly creates a desire for appointment which is most legitimate in itself, a greater keenness for the enjoyments of life is developed, and the ancient moorings get altogether out of sight. Yet those ancient moorings are admirable for the accomplishment of the highest ideals of liberty, self-government, and other measures or ideas of which we imagine ourselves to have the exclusive monopoly. If you travel on those lines you will succeed, especially in the Province with which I have the privilege to be connected, and regarding which I may quote the words of Sir Lepel Griffin in a speech he made at a valedictory meeting held in his honour before leaving the Panjab, that in the very driest of our official heart the name of the Panjab will be found written in indelible characters. I undertake to say that whoever has been brought into contact with that noble and chivalrous race

which has helped us in many difficulties, and which has loyally stood, and loyally stands, by our side, and is ever forward in measures for good, will laugh at the presumption of any one considering that Panjab officials act as if being white were a privilege over being black, or that we should feel dishonoured in any association or on any Board with those high-minded fellow-subjects, with whom, I venture to say, we ought to participate in the Government, and introduce a system of government which would lead to the identification of their best interests with those of civilization and of our rule. Were it for a moment possible for me to imagine that the withdrawal of British rule from India would be of advantage to the natives, I should most strongly advocate it, for the first duty of a public official, however humble his position, is to do the best he can for the people from whose taxation he indirectly derives his emoluments, and in the furtherance of whose cause he is appointed to this or that department of the State. But it is because, in spite of the errors attached to every Government, I consider that the preservation of British rule is essential to the benefit of India that I venture to hold that it is on indigenous lines, and on indigenous lines only, that our Government can be maintained for the accomplishment of ideals of civilization, which are only the property of a few thinkers like Mr. Herbert Spencer and others in this country. I regret to say that I only to-day saw Mr. Spencer's article in which, speaking of the coming slavery by the promotion of too advanced liberal notions in England, he seemed to me to foreshadow the doom of India, if we should at any time entrust its management to any one class, even though it were the best, and if we should not divide equally and impartially the emoluments of Government, and the benefits of civilization, amongst all classes. (Hear, hear.) But it is equally absurd, if to be black is to be no disadvantage, that to be white should be a disadvantage, and I am afraid that after having struggled and suffered for many years, in advocating that being black or dark was not a disadvantage, I should end perhaps (again in a small way) my career, by having to advocate that to be white should not be a disadvantage. (Laughter.)

Self-government in our province is not new. It is not new to India; it is not new over the whole of the Oriental world. Of course, the direct translation of European terms connected with self-government would afford insuperable difficulties. The adaptation, however, of such terms is possible, whilst the fact of self-government, in a democratic or aristocratic form, has ever existed in the East. Hindus are governed aristocratically. All castes are governed by

heads assisted by boards. Their autonomy has ever been considered to be sacred, whoever the despot may have been who darkened the Hindu's political horizon. The State levied its taxes for pomp, for show, for military defence. The inner life of the Hindu was never touched, and will only be touched if, in sacrifice to doctrinaire notions, we dare to interfere, with the same gay heart that induced the French to talk of going to Berlin, with institutions of which we can never fully comprehend the bearings. That autonomy keeps the peace of the country, and the good sense of most of the officials helps to preserve further the *pax britannica*, which is our boast out there. With regard to the Mohamedans, the system is democratic and elective. The question asked in yesterday's *Times*, "Who is a Mahdi?" would have been answered long before the present complications arose, if there had been an elementary knowledge of the elective basis of Sooni-ism. Similarly, I find in to-day's *Times* an undue importance attached to a proclamation of the Mahdi, which has found its way, as everything else does nowadays, to India, and which, if we had shaped our administration by the thought that Mohamedanism offered the best means of acting on Mohamedans, and Hindu philosophy and autonomy offered to us the best means of acting on Hindus, would have been indeed a mere straw striking against the crest of the Himalayas, and would not have been considered deserving the expense and importance of a telegram. As Sir Lepel Griffin has said in his letter in to-day's *Times*, India governed with the commonest honesty and ability is safe from any attack. (Hear, hear.) And, I go further, and say that it is downright nonsense to think for a moment, that the enlightened (and only enlightened, if enlightened by indigenous methods), the military, the loyal millions of India, identified by their own revered associations with the Government, because any other associations can have no real influence or sense, would not resist, not a million, but two millions, nay, twenty millions—(for we could beat them by the levy of entire tribes)—of those Slavs, or Slaves, that threaten more than the freedom of Central Asia, namely, the cause of the true freedom of the world. Of any number of those Slavs our enlightened and loyal natives need not be afraid. But as the preservation of peace is a desirable thing, and as it cannot be good, and in no country has it been good, to identify subversive elements with Government, the thing itself being a contradiction in terms, so also in India, while giving to each caste and class its due position in the State, I venture to submit with all deference to those who hold a contrary opinion, that no more than that position should be accorded. (Cheers.)

The Shiah's differ from the Soonis in the hereditary principle (of

Muhammad's successor or Vice-gerent being a lineal descendant of the family of Ali). With the Sunnis the *de facto* ruler of Mohamedans or Khalifa, is so with the *consensus fidelium*. A "Mahdi" with them is, therefore, only a reformer within a certain area, and *may* be an executive officer of the Khalifa; with the Shiah the true Mahdi is the Divinely-appointed hereditary ruler. Among the Shiah, therefore, it would appear that self-government is always liable to direct personal theocratic interference; the true Mahdi, the 12th Imam, may, at any time, step forward; that position has, however, not been reached, I think, as yet, and so far, I think, we can say that the Shiah are also "self-governed." Then as regards the Sikhs, there is a community of learning which makes them all equal, whether of high or low birth; it is the most complete, though special, notion of the Republic of letters that can be imagined. Just as Hindu castes might be described by the term "the United States of Hinduism," so also might the Sikh be described as the political exponent of the Republic of letters, however circumscribed and lowly the knowledge of those letters might be. And one is simply aghast at measures of self-government being *created* by us, when it only requires a little trouble to go out of the way and find them ready-made. Certainly, so far from self-government in that sense being premature in the Panjab, it is almost too late. When I reached the province in 1864, I found Sirdars who had grown up in the traditions of rule, and who possessed all the qualifications of rule, Sirdars whom Sir Richard Temple will no doubt remember, and who are no more, and whose place has, in a great measure, been taken by the *novi homines* who, however good their intentions, have not that knowledge, not that wealth, and not that command of men, such as enabled the Panjab to hold its own through centuries of diversified rule. It must not be imagined that the boon of the present self-government is always necessarily an advance. Only to-day I have seen in *The Punjaub Government Gazette* an announcement which, at first sight (I have not yet had time to give it the attention it deserves), seems to me, so far as a number of municipalities are concerned, to be, possibly, a retrogression in this respect. I reserve my opinion on that, but what I wish to say is this: it does not follow that because you use the word self-government, therefore you are necessarily promoting self-government either in a Conservative or in a Radical sense. For instance, in the present rules of the Amritsar municipality, which, according to the statement of the Secretary of that Government, have worked extremely well, we find that the first qualification for the franchise is simply the exercise of a learned profession such as that of Pundits and Mullahs in charge

of shrines or other religious institutions, doctors and hakims, pleaders, editors, schoolmasters and so forth. We find by the last *Government Gazette* that the new educational test appears to be the passing of the entrance examination of an Indian University, and, in some minor municipalities, the passing of the middle-school examination. Now, the entrance examination is so clearly special—so clearly intended for a special class of people, that it is doubtful whether this is an advance; but as I said before, I would wish to reserve my opinion on the subject till I have given it proper consideration. I find in the same *Gazette* the abolition of a number of municipalities. Now it seems to me that there must be some mistake—probably it is on my own part—in this, because in a letter from the most excellent Governor of the Province with reference to the following paper, I find an approval which I mention, not as a *chit* to my views, but simply and solely because it helps me to express my thorough conviction of the extreme honesty of purpose of one of the best Lieutenant-Governors that ever ruled the Province:—"Pray accept my very best thanks for "your most interesting and valuable memorandum on the Local "Self-Government Draft. You have made some invaluable "criticisms and suggestions, and though I cannot agree with you "on all points, I shall be able to accept a great many of your "proposals. If others to whom I have sent copies take the same "trouble that you have done, and grasp the subject with the same "intelligence, we shall start the scheme under conditions very "favourable to success." However, under the same words we often may unconsciously hide a difference of meaning. By local self-government I mean the identification of all with the Government; I do not in any sense mean the identification of any class that has not yet given evidence of stability. The half-hour to which I proposed to limit myself has now expired, and I am in hopes that the discussion may elicit other points. I ought to have said something more about educational self-government, but what applies to the rest of the policy applies to education too, if indigenous methods are appealed to in a manner that the people can understand. If, above all, any person presuming to talk about Indian education, has a command of one or other of its principal languages, or even if he can put only one sentence, conveying an abstract thought, together, such as will be understood in that language, I will listen with deference to his criticism. Indeed, if our educational officers were, as a rule, good Oriental scholars and in sympathy with the people, I should have greater hopes than I now have of the future of education in India. The natives are very prone to give of their wealth in a liberal measure for educational purposes,

and within my own experience they have done so. (Hear, hear.) The Society with which I am connected has collected lacs of rupees for educational purposes. It has helped public measures in various ways, but how has it done so? Has it done so by ostracizing the official element? Not at all. The best officials and the best natives have come together and they have tried to devise means "how to do it," and not as in many associations "how not to do it." Those who wish for the popularization of Government measures amongst the people and for the grievances of the people, if any (and indeed where are there not grievances?) to be brought to the knowledge of the authorities, can devise no better means, whether it be in this country or in India, than co-operating and associating with those officials who know their language and who sympathize with them. I found in a paper which I read at the offices of this Association this morning, a remark made by a writer on India, that this Society was effete in the sense that it was swamped by civilians, and that no good could come of it. Well, I do not know whether it is effete or not. What I have seen of it would bring me to the conclusion that it was not effete, that it was active, whilst it was also cautious, that it was sensible, and, judging from the last two lectures that I heard, that it was also bold in what it conceived to be its duty. On this very subject of self-government it brought forward certain resolutions in 1875, and to say for a moment that because the Association includes so many civilians in its number it therefore is effete, seems to me to be a wish for the unnecessary exclusion of an element of experience which, without being infallible, is certainly one of those on which we ought to reckon in this country for future help in Indian matters. I owe you, gentlemen, some apology for having spoken a little longer than I intended, and yet without doing justice to an important subject; but if I have succeeded in any degree in impressing upon your minds the desirability of identifying with yourselves not only those who talk in the interests of India, but also those who act and give their money in furtherance of those interests, and who co-operate with the Government in measures of public utility for the benefit of their fellow countrymen, I shall not have altogether wasted your time. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: There is one gentleman here who I think is extremely well-qualified to speak upon the subject. Perhaps there are few Englishmen who would be equally qualified, because he has identified himself with the province in which Dr. Leitner proposes that self-government shall be introduced. I myself consider that if there is a race in India that should be fitted for receiving self-

government, it is that brave and valiant race who fought us so valiantly on the Sutlej and subsequently aided us so valiantly before Delhi. The gentleman I am alluding to is Sir Lepel Griffin ; we shall all be glad if he will say a few words. (Cheers.)

Sir LEPEL GRIFFIN : Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,— I came here with no intention of speaking, and you will excuse me if my remarks are brief. I am exceedingly happy as an old Panjabi, and having been for many years associated with the Panjab Government, to give an expression of my concurrence in most of what Dr. Leitner has said to the meeting. Indeed, the point which he has principally endeavoured to impress upon you to-day, is one which, I think, cannot be too frequently or too forcibly put before Englishmen. Although some parts of Hindu and Mohamedan institutions are democratic in their original conception, yet the constitution of Indian society has always been more or less aristocratic, and I feel very strongly that self-government, in the best sense of the word, must signify the government of the people by their own natural leaders. I mistrust, and, I think, all those who know India best, mistrust, the elevation of the purely English-speaking native, who has no hold on the country by tradition or prescription, who is unconnected with the history of the country, who has no landed estates, and nothing to make him respected by the people ; he is not the man to place first in India, or to allow to pose in England as the future ruler of the country. Certainly in the Panjab we do not want the elevation of the clever, but superficial, Bengalee. The Chairman (for whose polite remarks I would express my thanks) has spoken of my association with that part of India truly, for I do not think there is any native gentleman in the Panjab from the Khyber to the Sutlej with whom I am not personally acquainted, and very many of them are my most old and intimate friends. These are the men to whom we must look—not necessarily through English education but through some higher education—to lead their people in the right way ; and if we insist upon pushing forward the lower classes simply because they have a smattering of English education, and if we leave behind the nobles and the gentlemen of the country, we shall, like Frankenstein, be merely raising up a monster who will destroy us. Those, gentlemen, are the only remarks which occur to me after hearing Dr. Leitner's eloquent address, and I trust you will excuse me for their necessary superficiality. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN : I believe there is another gentleman also

present who held high office in the Government of the Panjab, I allude to Mr. Thornton, who was formerly Secretary to the Panjab Government; perhaps he will favour us with a few words.

Mr. T. H. THORNTON, C.S.I., being called upon by the Chairman, said that having been for many years Secretary to the Government of the Panjab, he had taken great interest in the development of municipal institutions in that Province. When he first took office in 1864, there were only two or three municipalities in existence; when he left office a few years ago, there was upwards of two hundred. The result was, upon the whole, exceedingly satisfactory in developing a keen and intelligent interest among the citizens in the administration of their affairs. So successful was the measure, that in 1872 the system was extended to the agricultural community, and at the present time there was in each district of the Province a Council of Notables, to which was entrusted the duty of expending the local rates on the construction and repair of roads, establishment of dispensaries, erection of savans, tree-planting, and other local works of public utility. With regard to the policy to be pursued in the matter of local self-government in India, Mr. Thornton said he concurred in much that had been said by previous speakers. We should recognize and use the existing leaders of society, and not be in a hurry to manufacture new ones. With these views he was strongly inclined to doubt the desirability of forcing prematurely upon the people of India systems of municipal government in force in Western countries. For instance, the system of appointing town-councillors by a borough election, in the English fashion, was quite opposed to Asiatic sentiment, and only suited to Anglicized communities. In the mind of an Asiatic a representative was one selected or recognized by independent authority as the leading man of a particular class or interest. In such a community the importation of a system of election by ballot would be a great mistake. To show how little the English system of election was understood or appreciated in the Panjab, Mr. Thornton mentioned that some years ago an effort was made by doctrinaires to use that system in the election of the Town Council of Amritsar, the chief commercial city of the Province. So a test of franchise was determined upon, a register of voters prepared, a certified extract from the register was sent to each voter, and a day appointed for the ballot. But long before that day arrived it was discovered that the vote-certificates were largely changing hands for a pecuniary consideration, the holders treating them as transferable and negotiable documents. So the election collapsed, and, to complete the dismay of the

doctrinaires, it appeared upon inquiry that the market value of the franchise, for which the Amritsar citizen was reported to be pining, was—sixpence.

The CHAIRMAN: I trust that Mr. Lindsay, who was formerly a Judge in the Panjab, will favour us with a few remarks.

Mr. LINDSAY said that he had been suffering a great deal, and had simply attended the meeting for the purpose of hearing Dr. Leitner, and asked to be excused from addressing the meeting.

Mr. KRISHNALAL DATTA: Mr. Chairman, Dr. Leitner has made a reference in his speech to the subject of child-marriage and education, and, with your permission, I will say a few words upon it. He has said that the Indians, those who are in this country, cannot rightly represent the feelings and ideas of their fellow-countrymen. Now, I beg to differ from him. We can rightly represent the feelings and ideas and sentiments of our fellow-countrymen. The opinion is current in India that child-marriage is a crime and ought to be abolished, and I say that the Indian youths who are here can represent the opinions of their fellow-countrymen. And I ask Englishmen and English ladies is it not a Christian duty that such a deplorable crime should be abolished? Then I come to what Dr. Leitner said about education. He said the people of India take too much interest in political books. Now, I say, looking into the statistics of the publication of books and of political literature, it can be rightly understood that the people of India take great interest in politics; and that is one of the blessings of English rule—that the people of India are every day becoming more and more interested in political affairs. I say that the first and foremost necessity for India is the political reformer. I have no doubt that India wants a social reformer and a religious reformer; but the first thing, and one of the most advantageous things which the Indian people can have from English rule is the political reformer, who will raise up the people of that country from the misery and degradation and downfall in which they are at present grovelling. Dr. Leitner referred to the redressing of the grievances of India. I am sorry to say that, despite the many blessings which India has derived from English rule, there undoubtedly are grievances, and very serious grievances. But I say that those grievances can never be redressed by appealing to English officials there. I have no doubt there are English officials there who are really and honestly friends of India. But I say that this is the plain and

solid truth, that there are some who are not friends to India; and the best way of accomplishing the redress of the grievances of my country is by appealing to the friends of India and to the people of this country—be they the lord dwelling in his mansion or the working man. And I believe that the sooner the people of our country come to this country, and appeal to Englishmen from the highest to the lowest, the sooner their grievances will be redressed, and a better day will dawn for my country. Every reform that we gain from this country for India should be built on the solid basis of Christian principle and Christian morality. (Hear, hear.) I say that all the solid, firm religious institutions, and all the social, political and religious advantages—and there are many, I am glad to say—of the English Constitution should be given to India; and that will be a lasting monument to the beneficence of English rule, and will redound to the greatness, large as it is already, of the people of India. I say that the people of the Panjab are capable of governing themselves. The best proof of that is, that when every part of India came under English rule—and mind, Sir, I support the British Government, because I know that great benefit has been derived by India from it—before Englishmen went into that country at all, the people of the Panjab governed themselves, and their Government, as a study of history shows, was the best Government in India. And if under the English rule they have lost those qualities of self-government, I say it is not their fault—I say it is the fault of their governors. There is a great deal in Dr. Leitner's paper upon which I have not time to touch; but I cannot resume my seat without saying that I heartily concur with generally the tone of the paper, and I hope the day will come—and I believe we shall see it—when there will be self-government in the Panjab; and the people of the Panjab will so govern themselves as to prove that they are the people who are to be the light of India.

Rev. JAMES JOHNSTON: Mr. Chairman, I am sure that we are all glad to have this matter brought before us by Dr. Leitner, a man who can do it consistently, having had great experience in India, and being by reputation a friend of the people and an admirer of their venerable institutions. I do not think it necessary for me to enter upon any discussion in regard to some of those political questions, with which I am not so familiar as others who are here. I may, however, make one remark in passing. Many years ago when calling attention to the subject of education in India, one grievance to which I called attention was, that the Government were relying too much upon those whom they had educated up to a certain standard, over-

looking the claims of many of the higher classes in India, who had been, from tradition and habits, fitted to occupy the highest places in the administration in India. I value education, as you know, Sir, and I feel the importance of educating the natives of India, but if it is supposed that they can make a man a valuable and true representative of the people, by cramming him with a little knowledge of English or of modern science, they commit a very great mistake. We want something much more than this, and I cannot believe for a moment—and I am glad to hear from Dr. Leitner that he does not believe—that Sir Charles Aitchison would make a middle-class school examination by itself a qualification for being an elector in India. To make that examination the qualification for the representatives of the people, would be, especially in the Panjab, one of the gravest blunders. But from all we know of Sir Charles Aitchison's antecedents, I feel perfectly sure that that cannot be the intention of his Government. There is one thing I would like to say in regard to the higher classes, who are fitted to take a prominent place in the administrative government of the country. I think we should not lose sight of the important fact that they have to a very large extent injured themselves by not taking advantage of educational opportunities. I know very well that there were prejudices existing, and these were aggravated by the way in which education has been carried on during the last twenty-five years. But a step is now being taken in the right direction for the encouragement of education amongst the princes and the higher classes in India, and in future years we shall find that these men will not hold aloof from education as they have done in the past. The Commission on Education calls attention to this very important point, and presses it upon the Government: that measures should be taken to encourage the higher classes in India to come forward and receive that education which will add very materially to their efficiency as representatives of the people. But, Sir, the idea of making representation in a country like India, depend entirely and exclusively upon election, is, to my mind, erroneous. Election is, I believe, a very valuable agency for finding out fit representatives of a people, whether it be in villages or in the country; but I say it is not the *only* way of finding the fit representatives of the people.

I thoroughly agree with all that has been so well said about the importance of encouraging self-government, especially in local affairs, not attempting to put the people on equal terms with our own countrymen as yet, but aiming rather to educate them, by teaching them to govern themselves in their villages, and in their towns and local districts; by teaching to manage their own affairs well, they will best

qualify themselves for taking a higher position in the future government of the country. It was in this way that we in our country rose from the lower to the higher responsibilities of representative government.

I was very much disposed to take exception to one or two passages in Dr. Leitner's paper in regard to what he says about the Education Department. But as Dr. Leitner's time did not allow him to explain more fully the subject in his opening remarks, I do not think it necessary to do so now. One passage was that in regard to indigenous schools. I know that Dr. Leitner is very jealous about these indigenous schools. I also am most jealous of them, and five or six years ago I wrote strongly against the way in which many of our educational authorities in India were despising those indigenous schools of the natives: pointing out the very important fact, that they had been the means of training some of the natives of India, in former times, for the very highest positions, and that we were not at liberty to make light of these schools because they were not formed upon the model of our European system. (Hear, hear.) I am glad to find, that in the Report of the Education Commission, they very strongly recommend, that they should take any school in which they can find any good at all, and encourage it to go on step by step to a higher level. That even in those schools which are held in mosques and temples, although those schools may hitherto have been entirely devoted to the teaching of religious subjects, if they are prepared to give even the smallest modicum of secular education along with the religious, they should be encouraged and rewarded. The measures which they recommend are eminently suited to the necessities of the case.

Dr. ROBERT PRINGLE, H.M.'s Bengal Army: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel if we are to carry out the views which Dr. Leitner advocates for India as a whole, we must remember that the Panjab is simply one portion of India, and that there are other vast provinces of India just as different from the Panjab as it is possible for two localities to differ in one great country; and it is to be regretted that this afternoon we have not heard some gentlemen speak on the subject of self-government, whose practical experience had been gathered from a residence in some other part of India. The Panjabee and the ruling powers in the Panjab differ from the Bengali and the ruling powers in Bengal more than they do in any other province of India, and the gentleman who spoke from Bengal, thus spoke at a very great disadvantage, for if he had never been in the

Panjab, he would hardly understand the terms in which Dr. Leitner spoke of the Panjabees generally. I have been in the North-West Provinces for twenty years, the whole of which period has been passed in one appointment, and that is a local service which I think is very uncommon. My district or rather circle extended from the south of the Etawah district to Gungootra and Jumawotree, or the upper portion of the Mesopotamia of India. Through this tract of country I have for the past twenty years been constantly marching, and it has been my duty, and that gives me, I hope, some claim to offer an opinion upon this very important subject, to introduce a system of purely voluntary vaccination among the natives in that portion of the North-West Provinces, and a very difficult and anxious duty it was to perform. How I have succeeded in this duty, it is not for me to allude to here, I only asked to be judged by facts, available to all, and not figures, because figures can be twisted into every or any shape, especially as regards vaccination. (Laughter.) During these twenty years, I had opportunities of seeing and knowing the natives of this tract of country, such as fall to the lot of few; among them was Syad Ahmad, then the officer in charge of the Native Civil Court at Alighur. When I first went to him about vaccination, it was in 1864; but he was then taken up with, in addition to his onerous and responsible official duties, a system of Mohamedan education, which he has since carried to a most successful issue, and, though he did not then attend much to vaccination, yet I persevered, and when he saw the benefits of vaccination he not only asked me to vaccinate the students in the Mohamedan College at Alighur requiring the operation, but he took charge of a bill in the Supreme Council to make vaccination compulsory, under certain conditions and in certain localities. This bill the Hon. Syad Ahmad forwarded to me for revision and my practical opinion on it, and after the additions and alterations I proposed, it became law, and thus in India there is a compulsory vaccination law, which in England some are agitating to repeal. Among the Hindus I practised calf-vaccination, getting Brahmins to perform the operation, supply the calves, and bring their children to be vaccinated from the calves, and all this in the most voluntary manner possible. I enter into these details, as I think it will show, I must possess some considerable knowledge both of the characters and customs of both Hindu and Mohamedan. When I went to India thirty years ago, I remember being told that we were simply to hold that country until the natives could govern themselves, and when this was attained we were to leave it. The Imperial proclamation at Delhi, in 1877, and the giving of new "sunnuds," under what seemed

to be the inauguration of a new rule, gave a very rude shock to that idea, and I quite agree with what Dr. Leitner has just said, viz., "that the preservation of British rule is essential to the existence of India," but, on the other hand, that self-government if so carried out, as to be necessary to the existence of India, can alone be done by being carefully over-ruled by independent British officials. For, as at present constituted, and likely to be for some years to come, the antipathies between the two great religious divisions of the country, viz., the Hindu and the Mohamedan, are such, that in any purely local committee, I have seen or heard of in the North-West Provinces, a clear, unprejudiced head is needed to hold the scales of power and rule, nor need this be wondered at when we see to what extent even in this country political factions will urge their partisans. Dr. Leitner's remark about the presence of the British in India being necessary to its existence, is well shown in the following, and in alluding to this circumstance as I propose to do, I know my native friends will excuse my speaking plainly on the subject, because they must feel that I am prompted to do so by the knowledge that the true interests of India are wrapped up in it. Take for instance the system of railways, canals, and roads which cover India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, and from Calcutta to Peshawur. Now let us suppose the English rule came to an end, for how many years would those canals, and railroads, and roads, such as the Grand Trunk Road, be kept up in the state of efficiency in which they now are? Judging from analogy, I am sure my native friends must feel that a few years of purely native rule would make railway travelling most dangerous, the Ganges Canal a source of danger from inundation, and the roads unfit for wheeled traffic. Look at the engines and European machinery lying rusting in many native states, though I must say the Jeyhur State is a grand exception, there the present ruler takes the greatest interest in mechanics and everything that tends to the benefit of the subjects of the State, as his predecessor did, and as the British officials are equally interested in these appliances and improvements, and as the necessary funds are always forthcoming, the Jeyhur State can boast of everything that is new, so much so, that I have seen appliances for disinfection, which are unknown in Government hospitals, either civil or military. While in Bombay a few months ago, I was speaking to an intelligent [Parsee gentleman on the subject of our presence in India, and he entirely agreed with my remark, that the native population were] the hands, and the British the head. As regards the possibility of [Europeans labouring at any work in the plains of India, this must be entirely dismissed from the calculation, and

I fear a great change must come over the people, before they can be trusted with the ruling power now centred in the British. For many years, indeed until I left India last year, I belonged, as an elected member, not a Government nominee, to the only municipality in India which possessed the right of self-government. I allude to that of Mussooree in the Himalayas, and this municipality, with a single exception, was composed of Europeans, a few years ago. However, this right of self-government was withdrawn, owing to some irregularities brought to the notice of the Government by myself, and was given back the year before last, so that in my short service in this municipality of nearly twelve years, I have seen self-government permitted, taken away, and given back. Self-government to be of any value as a means of advancing the best interests of the ruled cannot be purely elective. Speaking for the upper portions of the Doab, the facility of borrowing money, but above all the power of the State, by elaborate legal enactments, standing as it does on the side of the lender to recover the loans, has put, not only the poor people, but the upper native classes, so entirely in the hands of these money-lenders, that a municipality in many places would be composed, if not of these usurers themselves, at least of their nominees, and it would be worse than incorrect to call this system of government local self-government. Again the prejudices, religious and otherwise, which exist between the Hindu and the Mohamedan preclude the possibility of their working a system of self-government properly so-called, unless it was modified by the supervision of an independent European officer, and I am very much mistaken if, after a short trial, the committee would not *themselves* ask for this guiding and ruling power. From my personal knowledge of the two religious sects in the upper portion of the Doab, I would almost undertake to give the number, as regards preponderance, of the Hindu and Mohamedan members in each committee under the present system of self-government. As regards an education test, as a qualification for voting and ruling, I may allude to a case I saw in the Muzaffurungar District, and I fancy this instance is far from a single one. In a large village, in which I was inspecting vaccination, I saw transactions to the extent of several thousands of rupees in the purchase of sugar being kept in chalk marks, and "gundahs" or heaps in fines of little stones. On asking the headman of the village why he did not get one of his sons to keep the accounts properly, instead of placing himself in the hands of these buyers, his remark was, "If I send my sons to the "sudder (chief) station of the district to be educated for the university or even a college, they are never fit for work after, and waste

"their time and my money in the sudder station in looking out for Government employ, which is the only service they will then take."

We must be very careful how we educate the people of India, if we are to educate them to rule, simple secular education cannot do it, and while I maintain every man is entitled to hold his own views on religious subjects, yet the basis of all knowledge should be the cultivation of that morality which the native gentleman from Bengal has just alluded to. And when the moral tone of native society is raised, then we shall see equal justice meted out to all, and that charity exercised for another's religious prejudices which alone can avert collisions on the point of differing religions. In all forms of self-government the old families should have a place if possible, though but little of their own lands may claim them as their lord. In India the influence of these old families, for good or evil, cannot be over estimated, and in times of trouble and danger to the public peace, their presence in the self-governing board will be a tower of strength on the side of order and good government. If the representatives of these old families have not some power in the local self-government in times of disturbance, the government may find they have lost touch of those whom their hereditary chiefs could not only control, but could secure on the side of order. Allusion was made by Dr. Leitner to the value of a loyal and contented population in the event of an attack from without, and, I think, too much importance cannot be attached to this: any system of self-government which cannot secure this loyalty and contentment, can only be one of danger to the country at large. And though I am an officer in the army, I maintain that the best protection for the peace of India, against internal or external attack, lies in the loyalty and contentment, and hence satisfaction, of the ruled. Contentment in India—the outcome of impartial justice—and the reduction to the lowest scale of taxation, is the best safeguard for the country, and the best rampart against a foe; and it is in reality this contentment, which up to the present, has enabled a, comparatively speaking, small, but efficient military force to hold India against all external attacks; if, however, we spend millions in unprofitable wars and military railways, we shall by increased taxation lose the contentment, and remove or greatly injure the rampart alluded to before. On asking an educated and most intelligent Hindu native gentleman, when he thought India could govern itself? his remark was, very much to the purpose of this meeting: "When my countrymen not only speak the truth, but respect the truth, and admire a man for speaking the truth, irrespective of the consequences, then we shall be able to govern ourselves." The native gentleman who spoke,

appealed to the Christianity and morality of the present rulers of his country as a claim for their granting self-government to the ruled, but what have the rulers done to raise the moral tone which lies at the root of their power of governing among the ruled, so that their highly raised tone of right and morality could be appealed to as giving them a claim to a share in the government of the country? In conclusion, I am grateful to you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity of speaking on the subject now before the Association, but my service of thirty years, all of it spent among the natives, as civil surgeon and sanitary officer, not unnaturally leads me to take the deepest interest in the welfare of those among whom the best years of my life have been passed.

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD: Mr. Chairman,—It would be presumption on my part if I were to attempt to criticize either the paper or the speech of Dr. Leitner. I rise to express the thanks of this meeting to him for the service he has rendered us. I think it must be very fortunate that we should have this paper and the report of his speech, as well as the discussion upon it, in our JOURNAL. Just referring back to the remarks made by our President bearing on Dr. Leitner himself, we know what an advantage it is to see ourselves as others see us. In Dr. Leitner the British rulers of India have to some extent obtained that advantage. As Sir Richard Temple explained, whilst Dr. Leitner belongs to us, he is not of us, so that he sees things from a different point of view. As has been said, his remarks refer mainly to the Panjab, and two or three Panjab gentlemen have spoken; but I think the principles that Dr. Leitner has laid down may be applied more or less to the whole of India. And this just reminds me—though I will not attempt to refer further to what has been said in the paper—to speak of one passing remark by Sir Lepel Griffin, similar to remarks he has made elsewhere, which I think require just a little qualification. He said he mistrusted the merely English-speaking native, who had no hold on the country, but might be clever and superficial, and so on. Well, let Sir Lepel Griffin speak for the Panjabee and the class whom he would describe as the merely English-speaking native. Speaking for the Presidency with which I have been connected, and of both the two divisions of its people, the Mahrattas and Guzeratees, all the prominent men of those two races are English speakers and writers. The system of education has been so thorough in the Bombay Presidency during the last twenty or thirty years that those men now speak English as well as most of us. Those men are clever, if we are to use that term, but they are by no means superficial: there is scarcely one

man of them, as far as I know, to whom that description could be applied. They have their faults, faults which one could recognize when compared with those of stronger races, but they are not superficial, and most certainly they have a hold on the country which gives them influence with all classes of their countrymen. I am speaking more particularly of the Mahrattas and Guzeratees, the two races who take a leading part in the affairs of the Bombay Presidency. Reference has been made to the Parsees: they are, so to speak, an exotic race, but although that is the case they are closely identified with the country; and I think it is one of the remarkable indications of the tenacity of the Indian system, how the Parsees and some other outer races to whom Dr. Leitner refers, have been, as it were, drawn into the manners and constitution of the country. At the base it is the Hindu system, with its caste and other peculiarities, but it is remarkably suited to the country itself and its community. Mr. Thornton gave us some gratifying remarks as to the progress of municipalities in the Panjab. Well, I suppose Dr. Leitner would say that municipalities or indigenous local government existed long before that, and these municipalities must be of a modern kind, of a kind which we have, so to speak, almost invented. I should be inclined to agree with Mr. Thornton when he spoke of voting by ballot and election of representatives as being foreign to India. No doubt it is; but you must select representatives in some way, and, as a speaker said just now, that is only one way of choosing them. You can also have, as Dr. Leitner has said, the representatives of the different castes and classes; and, though it is not always easy so to arrange, I consider that as one of the most interesting portions of the paper where he says that you have in India an aristocracy not resting on wealth or upon prescription, but, so to speak, on instruction and standing, and character, connected also with the religious systems originally. I make these general remarks partly on account of what Dr. Pringle just said, that the Panjab, great and interesting as it is, is only one part of India. That is very true. One of the facts we have need to realize and to be reminded of most frequently in connection with India is, that India is not homogeneous—(hear, hear)—but it is one large continent, in which different portions and different individualities differ more widely than they do in Europe. I beg leave to move a vote of thanks to Dr. Leitner for his paper, and for his discourse. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: Before I put the resolution, I will call upon Dr. Leitner to reply to the remarks which have been made upon his paper.

Dr. LEITNER: Mr. Chairman,—There are one or two points in the discussion which I may take up as illustrating the conception, and possibly, in many instances, the misconception, of what I said. Mr. Thornton, as Mr. Martin Wood rightly pointed out, referred to the success of our modern municipalities. The whole drift of my paper is to leave things as much as possible to develop themselves. I pointed out that our reformers very often with undue haste destroyed what already exists, which if utilized would do a great deal of good. Now, in the case of a municipality, where votes were sold for four annas, or sixpence each, the reason may be this: In some of the larger towns there exists a street inhabited by persons who sell themselves as they used to do in Fleet Street, for a not much larger sum, to give evidence. The flimsiness of the paper, and the way it was put forward, encouraged the sale of these certificates. If the certificates had been called *Sanads*, the result might have been different; the sense of dignity and personal responsibility of the native elector would have been raised. A secret ballot, as has been said, is most repugnant to native ideas; an open election is not. I have been in Turkey and Egypt, and I have studied the Koran in a Mohamedan school, and I know as much as an European can know of Oriental human nature (which is, of course, after all, not very much), but still I am sure that the method of a measure has a great deal to do with its success. This word “Sanad” would raise the elector’s sense of self-respect. The voter, as I have pointed out in my paper, should be called *Rai-dehinda*, the giver of an opinion. That word “Rai” is connected with the supremacy of intellect, which alone ought to give supremacy of political insight, and, by coincidence, is connected with a number of other words signifying rule. It is thus that the Brahmin in Mr. Wood’s Province, who has identified himself with English education, having the advantage of the traditional subtlety of mind of his caste, cultivated by, generally, a life of a highly moral and intellectual character, has not been the failure that the English-educated native has been, or is said to have been, in other parts. It is not to English education as such that I object. I want English education to be made more profound than it is, and, indeed, to be made more general than it is; what I want is that it should be based on associations that are intelligible. Now, suppose the word *Rai-dehinda* was changed to *awáz-dehinda*, as I have heard it put; that again connects it with the irresponsible utterings of men bent on upsetting rule, and, therefore, whereas *Rai-dehinda* would be a good thing, *awáz-dehinda* would be a bad thing. Let our ideal be the best, but let our method be the most practical. So much for the sixpence for a vote. I undertake to say

that if you made the knowledge of a written character a test for the privilege of voting, if you give the term *ap* to an elector, or allowed him to sit on a bench, not on a chair, the electoral privilege would come to be rightly estimated. I think something ought to be said with regard to Sir Lepel Griffin's remarks. He, with myself, considers that English associations ought to be given where they can be reasonably and intelligently given along with the English language, but he does not consider that simply taking a man away from his professional calling—taking him away from his moorings, makes him educated. As little would you call an Englishman educated if he had a smattering of French but did not know his own vernacular English, and if he had not a certain knowledge of Latin and Greek. That man could scarcely be called a thoroughly educated Englishman. So, you cannot call a native really educated if he is incapable of even translating what he learns of our language into his own, or if his mind is not disciplined by the study of one or other of his classical languages, Arabic if a Mohamedan, and Sanscrit if a Hindu. It is often the case, and we lately heard it with respect to the Ilbert Bill, that if you asked a native to translate his views into his own vernacular you found that there was the most utter misconception of the associations out of which English words are made up. Our abstract words are made up, as you know, from the grouping of ideas and historical events which are afterward centred under one convenient abstract term, but this convenient term, even in our case, is apt very often to mislead, and there are few indeed who rise from a perusal, say, of an editorial in a paper, perfectly refreshed. The general impression seems to be rather that of mental exhaustion, and the reason of that is, that abstract word follows abstract word, the generalizing on the generalizing; whereas, if you were to attempt to translate it to your own mind in more concrete language, or into an Oriental language, you would be brought nearer to the facts of the history, out of which those very convenient abstract words are made up. So, in our legislation, I consider we should go to the existing concrete facts, the elements that constitute self-government and develop them, or, at any rate, not allow them to perish. You, Mr. Martin Wood, have rightly represented my views upon this question. There is not a branch of philosophy in which we have not to a certain extent been anticipated. There is no portion of philological or other inquiry, in which either here or there you will not find something of the greatest value in Oriental writings, and so it is with regard to Government, and all the problems of Government. Oriental writers have entered into the matter with astounding minuteness, and with an amount of thought that is some-

times appalling. But they have not had the facilities which enable an European very often to express his own thoughts, or that of his countrymen generally, by means of a free press, and meetings such as this and others. Then, coming to the remarks of Mr. Krishnalal Datta, taking him as a very good specimen, as I presume we may, of Lower Bengal, one would be inclined to say that so far as his appeal to our Christianity is not a mere *captatio benevolentiae*, he appeals to sentiments which I hope are common to us all. But when he goes into the question of child-marriage, I should like to say this: I know from experience, having had a large number of married students under me, that it makes a difference to a man if he has the domestic tie and responsibility of what is called child-marriage and is generally betrothal, the dignity and position which it gives in the family. It is not only conceivable but a fact, that, with the exception of those sad cases where attachment has grown up in the tender hearts of the youthfully-married, and death has severed the tie, as a rule child-marriage is a preservative of domestic morality, because along with the dignified position it gives a certain sense of domestic responsibility. There are a good many who would like to escape it; there are some who on that account join the army of reformers. In a number of instances it must be very inconvenient to leave a child-wife at home, when travelling, say, to England. The case of some of the child-widows is a deplorable one—so is the case of widows generally, I believe. But to say for a moment that it is an unmitigated evil, would be to contradict the experience which many have had in dealing with natives. Besides it must not be forgotten that there is the custom in some castes of giving a *peculium* to the widow after the husband's death, which generally extends to a provision for life. It is quite clear that a number of reformers would find it to their advantage to marry such a widow as that, if doing so could be made respectable in their caste, and to start papers with the *peculium* of the widow instead of on credit. (Laughter.) So you have always to ask "who is who," taking, however, every view, even a personal view, with great candour and consideration. It is always to be understood that the convenient name of India hides a number of conflicting nationalities and conflicting interests, and the caste question is one we have not yet touched. Then, coming to the question of Provincial Councils, if we created one for the Panjab, or extended the sphere of the supreme Educational Board in our province, and made it a Provincial Council, the measure would be both Conservative and Liberal in the best of the senses of these terms. I think we ought to work through the natural leaders of the people, whilst every possible opportunity should be

given to natives to rise, and no foolish sentiment should be allowed to impede their progress. Yet, watching the ominous signs of reaction already beginning to be seen in this country, I say it is just as well to pull them up a little bit in their own interests. I consider that we have every element of self-government in the Panjab. If the size of my pamphlet does not prevent your reading it, you will find that the failure in the working of the municipal rules at Murree and at Dharmasala was due to the fact that the *Europeans* failed to take a proper interest in the matter, and it was found necessary to actually nominate the European members, because they would not act voluntarily. They were public-spirited enough when it was simply a question of writing a short paragraph in a newspaper, but when it came to actual work it was found that it was not every European who came up to the traditions of his race, or was the ideal Englishman that he ought to be. Now, coming to what Sir Charles Aitchinson is supposed to have done, I believe that Sir Charles is likely to be perfectly sound on the question. But what I meant to say is this—and perhaps I was not clear about it in my remarks—whereas before the local self-government scheme a *general* education, which included an indigenous education, qualified one for being an elector, now, if the *Gazette* is properly read by me, the qualification is apparently more restricted, and a certain examination is—*inter alia* if you please—put as the minimum test. If you want to spread education in connection with the self-government scheme, say that three years hence every elector shall be obliged to know a native character; the consequence of that measure will be that everybody will try to qualify for what will be deemed to be an honour and certificate of educational and political capacity. But do not go and fix any particular examination, whatever it be, either legal or other, because, in doing so, you will unconsciously be playing into the hands of a certain class, and that is, of course, what you want to avoid. So far, therefore, on this cursory reading, I find that the new scheme of self-government need not always mean more self-government than already existed. Then, again, with regard to the phrase “self-government,” it is very difficult, indeed, to give an accurate idea of that in translation. That must be very carefully watched. Even with ourselves, the very same words put to members of different political parties might be taken to mean very different things indeed. With Mr. Herbert Spencer the coming slavery is a condition into which we are fast approaching owing to Socialism; with others, again, it would mean the *beau ideal* of manhood suffrage. Therefore I think I am right in pointing out the very great importance of correct trans-

lation. For instance, take this sentence out of the Self-Government Resolution—"Local bodies should be allowed the *greatest possible liberty of action*." Now, how any legislator can talk like that I cannot conceive. We know very well what is meant, but it might be translated by words which would mean to the native mind revolution, oppression, or nothing at all. For instance, if it were "*Jehán tak ho seke ta'míl lí píri azadigi milé,*" it would refer to executive liberty. It would mean that the local body would have the right, on receiving an order from Government, to carry it out by force, because the word "action" is there *ta'míl*: but if it were "*aml,*" although the word is from the same root, it would mean something absolutely impossible, and on which action could not be taken without offence to the Creator. We have seen the discussion about the Mahdi, whom some of our scholars call "Muhdi." Anybody who is guided by God can be a "Mahdi," but nobody can be a "Muhdi," or causer of guidance except God Himself. A Mahdi is simply one who is guided by Divine authority, and who can be thrown away at the pleasure of the Almighty. Therefore, in these translations the greatest care is to be observed, and it is to this point I come back when I deprecate interference with indigenous schools. I do not know that there is anyone who has seen more of indigenous schools, the highest as well as the lowest, than myself. I do not know certainly many Europeans, if any, who have been as I have to a certain extent educated in an indigenous school, a Mohamedan school. I think that considering the nature of that very remarkable religion, and of the other religions, which are more profound than we think, there is a common ground between them and ourselves to which we might appeal very often with greater effect than by accentuating dissensions and differences. I consider there can be nothing more fatal than to go to a school like that conducted in the love of God, and of education, and offer a Government grant of money, and to say, *e.g.* if you teach the latitude of Timbuctoo (for our teaching of geography is little better than one of names) you shall have this Government grant; anything more demoralizing cannot be imagined. In the first place, that poor Timbuctoo is likely to be considerably misspelt: it is not of very great interest, say to the Panjabee peasant; it does not fall in with any of their modes of thought except one, and that one is, in order to oblige the Government we will do so, but Government must provide us with an appointment. Therefore if you get anyone to take that grant, he is either to speak plainly, a bad lot, or he falls out with his traditional calling, because, if he is an honest teacher, he does not require more than the willing love and gratitude of his pupils, showing itself by

presents and a thousand services during the whole of his life. No pupil forgets his teacher in an indigenous school in the same way as I am sorry to say some of those whom we bring up in our own schools forget the obligations they owe to those who have given them a career in life. No ; the position is different. The relation of teacher and pupil is a holy relation, and that of the teacher to his junior friend, his pupil, is a very happy and stimulating one for the good of the pupil, quite apart from the ceremonies that inculcate reverence, and to which I refer in my "*History of Indigenous Education.*" Well, apart from the alienation of master from the parent, and the substitution of the lower motives of gain and of official approbation for that of the love of God and of education for its own sake, again, there would be the cost of inspection. I know from having been an inspector myself how difficult it is with our forty-one district inspectors and chief inspectors to inspect the 1280 so-called Government village schools in our Province, which are not village schools at all. How are we then without a corresponding increase in our staff to inspect the 13,000 indigenous schools ? If we succeed, we shall simply turn the people into so many office-seekers, of whom we have quite enough already ; if we fail, we shall have succeeded in probing that one sore point in native society which will set India in a blaze, because we shall touch what no tyrant ever touched before, namely, their religious training. If our educational officers were different to what they, as a rule, are, perhaps something might be done that way ; but I say this, that, although I do not wish to be considered in any way an oracle, having deprecated political oracles myself, I say that just as twenty-five years ago I pointed out how things in Turkey must go, owing to our linguistic ignorance, how Bulgaria must be emancipated, and how I in vain argued for a School of Interpreters in England, so I also say now that even those most excellent people of India may be driven into exasperation owing to the reforms attempted by persons who know nothing whatever of the inner life of India. I refer not to cleverness, not to mere ingenuity in makeshifts, but to actual sound knowledge of a vital subject on which native society rests. Take my word for it, the native heart is quiet and deep, but it is very often the depth and the quietness of the Indian Ocean before a storm ; yet it is a noble and kind heart when stirred by associations which it can revere. These are the associations which I should like to see stirred in the native breast by appeals to loyalty, to respect for elders, by a strengthening of their belief in God, and by helping government and participating in government, not by any new-fangled notions about self-government that may perhaps not

have been tried even in this country, especially if the proceedings connected with them are to be conducted in the English language. Would you give the boon of self-government to the St. Pancras Vestry if you insisted that their proceedings should be conducted in Chinese? (Laughter.) Dr. Pringle referred to Syad Ahmed. Well, he is a most excellent man, but it is necessary to point out that he is (I do not use these words disparagingly) a heretical member of a heretical sub-division of the Mohamedan faith, so that his opinions, though valuable, do not represent the opinions of the Mohamedans of India in any way whatever. And in regard to that very question of vaccination, we very nearly had a row in the Panjab before the Anjuman-i-Panjab deprived his Bill of its well-meant doctrinaire features. In *The Times* you will find that the introduction of self-government is actually supposed to be connected with a disaffected movement in Amritsar. Why, it is possibly because things were done without considering the question sufficiently in its local application; so it was with this Vaccination Bill; we had to find a number of texts about the goddess of small-pox; these we had to circulate through the local Moulvis, Pandits, Gurus, and other representatives of native traditional, medical, or sacred learning; we took extraordinary trouble to popularize that measure; indeed I may say that we took the sting out of it. I have left out a great many important points upon which I should have liked to say a few words, and your patience has been tried almost beyond endurance; but I do not wish it to be understood that I should object to native students or others taking an interest in politics. No man can belong to the rising generation of a country without taking an interest in its politics; no man is worthy to belong to that generation unless he does so; but I think it is as well for him to remember that he is in a state of pupilage, and that when he has completed his particular studies, and has assumed the responsibility of some position in life, and is prepared to back his opinions or his utterances with some self-sacrifice of money or actual labour, that then only he can fitly come forward; but to suppose for a moment that because he wears the more graceful Oriental garb, or is bronzed by a more genial sun, therefore and therefore alone he is to do what an English school-boy would not be allowed to do—that, I say, ought to be reprobated, or, at any rate, kept within the limits of academical discussion; in other words, the questions that will interest a number of native youths may well be discussed by them, but to step forward and advise their elders seems to me to be injuring their own cause. For instance, as to the age of the candidate for the Indian Civil Service, it is quite clear that it is

to the interest of not only the native, but also the English parent to have that age raised for his son ; it is assuredly better to be a ruler at twenty-four than at nineteen ; but I very much doubt, whether the way in which that matter has been taken up by native reformers of a certain class, the agitation which is referred to in the telegram in *The Times*, is the best way of attempting to carry that or other reforms, which we all may wish to carry. Then with regard to the recommendations of the Education Commission, I look upon them as injurious to higher as well as to mass education. I look upon them as injurious to higher education for the following reason : In this era of Universities and of inspections such as I have pointed out, by local boards, and by higher schoolmasters inspecting the natural feeders of their schools, *e.g.* those below their own, the money ought to be given more to colleges for the better classes, and to schools for the masses, than to a strengthening of the mere administrative machinery of official direction and inspection. Yet this unnecessary direction and inspection are to be the *first* charge on the Educational Budget, and are to be actually extended, in order to have a *raison d'être*, by incorporating the indigenous schools into the official system. How this is to be done without absorbing some of the funds, now too sparingly given to grant-in-aid schools and to teaching generally, without an increase of taxation, is inconceivable. The chiefs in our province have been foremost in doing what their fellows in no other Indian province have done in educational matters ; it has been they and they alone who, struggling against every obstacle, have come forward and have not only given three or four lacs for the Panjab University, but have kept the Institution going at an expense of from 60,000 to 80,000 rupees a year, and they would have given forty or fifty lacs if they had been properly encouraged, or had been left free from official interference. It is in the Panjab, and in the Panjab alone, that the chiefs have come forward, and where their enterprise has not been recognized, and is not recognized even now by a Commission, whose ostensible object was to encourage such enterprise. However, we will leave them aside ; I do not consider that our Panjabees require much patting on the back ; they are strong in themselves, but with regard to more colleges for the middle and higher classes, and more schools for the agricultural classes, I certainly do consider that we have an efficient machinery in the Local Boards, and in the Universities to take some of the money that is now merely given to administration, and to devote it to teaching, the substance of educational work. That is certainly my conviction ; but whatever may be the value of that, one thing is clear, that India will not bear any increase of taxation. (Hear, hear.) The whole of the

money in my province given by the villages for schools, has not been spent on schools situated in villages, if you define a village as a place of less than 3000 inhabitants; Sir John Lawrence puts the limit as 500. On the frontier we had a rising which had to be put down by troops, and at which lives were lost, in consequence of the education cess. That cess, believe me, you cannot increase; and Sir Charles Aitchison, in these papers which I hold here, deprecates legislation such as is recommended by the Education Commission; whilst he approves much of what they say (and indeed it would be singular if such a large body did not say a great many things which were worthy of support), I do not understand him to entirely approve the spirit in which the *Report* is framed, certainly as far as any cut-and-dried legislation is concerned. This cess was intended, if you please, originally to strengthen indigenous schools. We took away the landed endowments from the indigenous schools. The department then denied or ignored their existence or usefulness for a number of years, or supplied meaningless statistics regarding their supposed number; when ultimately, I proved to the department that without doubt there were over 6000 such schools and the names of their teachers and subjects taught were similarly pointed out, the department was put on its mettle, and it very soon found 13,000; but as I have pointed out to my Government, it still has no accurate or complete information about places, subjects or numbers.* Now, if you go and increase taxation instead of giving, as has been proposed, some land to the indigenous school, say, out of the common village property, you will certainly have disaffection; and yet you must have taxation if you are to increase the inspectors from the present numbers so as to inspect all the 13,000 indigenous schools in the Panjab. You dare not increase the educational cess in the Panjab, the people will not stand it; they will ask, "where are our

* I urged the establishment of an Education Commission, on lines that have been followed more in the letter than in the spirit, when I represented the Panjab on the Imperial Text-book Committee, which assembled in Simla, in May, 1877, and on which General Macdonald represented Madras, where indigenous education has not been so trampled on as elsewhere. The views of this Committee had been accepted by Local Governments and, indeed, form the basis of whatever is likely to be productive of good in the recommendations of the recent Education Commission, to which I was deputed by the Panjab Government to give information on the subject of indigenous education in that province. The establishment, however, of the Education Commission was more immediately due to the notice which was taken in Parliament, in 1878, of the suppression of an Educational Congress in the Panjab, which endeavoured to give greater effect than even in the Panjab University movement to the Educational Despatch of 1854.

“endowments gone to? Where is our original indigenous school and “the land it had?” If we were to give that land back out of the common village land, we should benefit the Government by additional revenue, because the land would eventually be brought under cultivation, and we should establish education on a permanent basis, and not by giving a money grant for the teaching of geography and things called useful knowledge, but by which the peasant cannot profit. If you, again, give a portion of the common village land, you will, as education increases, lessen taxation and increase the revenue. Then there are gifts of waste lands; these ought to have accompanied the boon of self-government. In these papers I find that this is one of the methods that are to be proceeded with. A further step in advance has been the abolition of the Government book depôt. Sir Charles Aitchison has declared that the monopoly of English books must cease from June, 1884 (that is next month), and the monopoly in vernacular books in 1887 at the very latest. Here is a large field opened to both native and European enterprise by the wisdom of our present Lieutenant-Governor; there are some books which sell at 100,000 copies in a year; unknown and unauthorized editions of the Oriental classics circulate very largely through the country and offer a very large field for literary enterprise. This is an example of what we have to address ourselves to—to abolish the abuses that have grown up in a department which amongst its administrators counts many excellent men for whom I have the very greatest respect, and one of whom fills the Chair at present (General Macdonald). We must take care not to increase taxation, but to promote education by appealing to those traditional motives which have stirred native liberality in all times, and which will continue to do so if used with sympathy, or else, if instead of persecution such as has obtained hitherto, we simply leave indigenous schools alone. (Cheers.)

Major-General R. M. MACDONALD: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I did not intend when I came here to take any part in the discussion, but as I have been unexpectedly called upon to take the Chair in consequence of Sir Richard Temple and General Sir Orfeur Cavenagh having other engagements, I may be expected to say a few words. The greater part of my service has been spent in the Madras Presidency, and therefore I have no personal knowledge of the system in the Panjab, although I once spent a month there during the greater part of which time I was at Simla on a Commission with my friend Dr. Leitner. There is no doubt that the question of the introduction of local self-government is one of the most important that can

occupy the attention of this Association; but we must have gathered from the remarks that we have heard this afternoon from Sir Lepel Griffin, and from Mr. Thornton, and also from other gentlemen, that it is a question that is attended with a considerable amount of danger. Some of you may remember a passage in which Jeremy Bentham enters upon the subject of the influence of time and place on legislation, and points out that a law which is beneficial on the banks of the Thames may be anything but beneficial on the banks of the Ganges. In the Presidency with which I have had the honour of being connected, we had a system of self-government under some Acts introduced by Sir Alexander Arbuthnot in the year 1871, and there they have worked well. With regard to one point upon which some remarks have been made this evening, viz. the advisability of entrusting self-government in India to educated natives, I may say that those who have been appointed Members of our Boards have done much which redounds to their own credit. The employment of these men in the public service has immeasurably raised the tone of that service during the time I have been acquainted with it. The public servants of to-day are very different from what they were forty years ago in the Madras Presidency, and I cannot suppose it possible that in any system of self-government the influence of educated natives can be excluded. The subject is, however, one upon which it would be impossible at this late hour to enter into any details, and I shall content myself with asking you now to pass a vote of thanks to Dr. Leitner for his able paper.

Mr. C. W. ARATHOON: I have great pleasure in seconding that. I am sure that everybody will agree with me in saying that the few hours spent here this afternoon have been very well spent. The subject upon which Dr. Leitner has addressed us is one of great interest and importance, and his learning upon it, both theoretical and practical, is unbounded, as far as I can see. Although I have had the pleasure of knowing Dr. Leitner for some time, I really was not aware that his knowledge upon this matter was so vast. (Cheers.) I have much pleasure in seconding the motion.

The motion was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Dr. LEITNER briefly acknowledged the compliment.

It may be stated that, in consequence of another engagement, Sir Richard Temple vacated the Chair at the conclusion of Dr. Leitner's opening address, and his place was occupied first by General Sir Orfeur Cavenagh, and lastly by Major-General Macdonald.

On the motion of Mr. JOHN SHAW, seconded by Mr. A. K. SETTNA, a vote of thanks was accorded to each of these gentlemen.

Major-General R. M. MACDONALD having replied, the meeting separated.

The following extract from *The Journal of the Society of Arts* of the 30th May, which appeared three days after the delivery of the above lecture, and which contains several quotations from the following paper, may serve to complete the present survey of "the indigenous elements of self-government in India, with special reference to the Panjab, and more particularly in matters of education":—

"SUGGESTIONS FOR THE REVIVAL AND IMPROVEMENT OF INDIGENOUS EDUCATION (BY DR. LEITNER).

"I would, in conclusion, submit a few suggestions for the revival and improvement of indigenous education:—

"1. The assignment in every village of from one to five acres of land out of the Shamilát or common land to the best Maulvi, Pandit, or Guru of the place, to be held in perpetuity for the purpose of teaching; his lineal descendant or a relative, if competent, being appointed his successor, subject to the approval of the village Panchayet, or council of 'five' elders. I believe that there will be no difficulty in inducing the village communities to give a few bigas of their common land to the permanent endowment of a school appreciated by them. In some cases waste lands would be available for the purpose; in others, the present jaghirdars would gladly 'release' for the sake of establishing an indigenous school, the 'Muafi' or rent-free land that they have resumed. In every case, Government revenue would be an eventual gainer by the endowment with land of indigenous schools, whilst the cost of primary education would actually be reduced rather than increased in proportion to the contemplated extension of mass-instruction.

"2. The distribution, on public occasions, of presents of Oriental text-books, and of khillats or presents (not cash) to successful teachers, managers, and pupils, and the deferential treatment of recognized Maulvis, Pandits, Gurus, and other representatives of indigenous learning, when attending district durbars, municipalities, &c., for which they ought to have a vote irrespective of income, for poverty is the glory rather than the curse of native learning. The

revered teacher or priest has as much right to a vote as the Anglicized youth who has taken the B.A. degree, or who has passed the entrance or even the middle-school examination. I would deprecate any money grant being given to indigenous schools through any departmental agency, whether directly or indirectly, for this will at once induce their managers and supporters to look to Government for remuneration as well as compensation for having complied with official regulations, and for having departed, to however small extent, from their own systems of education. If, e.g. in the Panjab, a staff of about forty inspectors and their assistants are unable to visit the 1280 so-called Government village schools, they are manifestly unable to visit *in situ* the 13,000 indigenous schools which have now been ascertained to exist. To inspect them properly would require a staff of one hundred inspectors, which could not be done without an increase of taxation. Now, the agriculturists are not willing to be taxed any more for schools, having paid to the Village School Cess hitherto, and not having, as understood by them, received a school in any locality of less than 3000 inhabitants. Worse than all, any Government interference, whether to tax or to reward, would convert thousands of men, now studying for study's sake, into office-seekers, who like the present alumni of Government schools, will consider that they have a claim to Government for employment, falling to obtain which, they edit seditious newspapers, chiefly intended for consumption in England. Any official supervision would be worse than the neglect or persecution from which indigenous schools have hitherto suffered. 'The real education of the country, instead of being preserved and developed, will then give way to a pretentious and shallow system of preparation for office-hunters; the trades and traditional professions of the pupils will be abandoned; the religious feeling will be destroyed, and the country will be overrun by a hundred thousand semi-educated and needy men for whom it will be impossible to provide, and who will have been rendered unfit for their own occupations. I should indeed regret if my persistently drawing the attention of Government and of the public since 1865 to the neglect of indigenous and of religious education should only result in inflicting a death-blow on India's last hope of a genuine, because indigenous, civilization.' The above remarks would describe the success of such increased inspection or official interference as is contemplated. Should it, however, fail, as is probable from the circumstance that the inspectors have either no knowledge of or sympathy with Arabic or Sanscrit learning, their visits to mosques and temples with the bait of grants of money for secular subjects, will

kindle a flame all over India to which the Mutiny may be a child's play, and they will do so at an increased annual cost to the State of, at least, 54 lakhs, if the recommendations of the recent Indian Education Commission are carried out in the spirit of their report. These recommendations are also calculated to suppress the traditional motives of native liberality, by ignoring the religious element as well as the independent action of donors, and the sense of obligation between the teacher and the parent who pays him in a direct manner, and not indirectly and problematically through a fee to a school, which is sent away into the Treasury. All that is required is the spread of a belief among the people that Government is friendly to indigenous primary and higher education, when I have no doubt, from my own very large experience of what can stir natives to liberality, that 'all the noble, wealthy, and religious, of whatever denomination, will come forward in the traditional munificent support of an education, however advancing with the age, which they can understand, and that they will spare neither time nor thought in its efficient management. With the accretion of funds and the revival of the educational spirit, all education, including the spread of Western science and of the English language, will also prosper, whereas without such funds and such spirit it must continue to starve,' as I have already pointed out on another occasion.

"3. The utilization of the existing divisions of castes or classes in the cause of progress, by identifying the indigenous teachers, physicians, jurists, &c., with their respective professions, under the more enlightened or different auspices of the age. In other words, our native doctors should be recruited from the ranks of traditional Hakims or Baidis; our teachers should, preferentially, be the sons of Pundits, Maulvis, or other men belonging to the traditional learned classes, which still have the greatest influence, as is shown by natives allowing their girls to be taught by young Pundits, who have a character to lose if they misbehave.

"The problem of female education, if it exists, can best be solved by employing the wives of priests, hakims, &c., as teachers to women in their homes, and not in public schools. By doing this we will encourage the religious obligation of husbands, especially if priests or professors, to teach their wives. In the same way the commercial, industrial, and agricultural classes should be educated in a manner which will promote their traditional spheres in life, as far as possible, on indigenous lines. Without either barring the road to merit, or actually declaring the ascetic sweeper superior to the gods, it is caste that has preserved Indian society from disintegration, and that is the

main cause of the *pax britannica* in India. After another century of struggle in Europe, where class weighs on class far more heavily than caste in India, we may arrive at conclusions not widely differing from those that inspired the Hindu legislator, when he endeavoured to make each section of the community seek perfection in its own work or station in life, whatever that may be, instead of intruding on another. It cannot be sufficiently made clear that 'the Hindus are an agglomeration of innumerable commonwealths, each governed by its own social and religious laws. Each race, tribe, and caste, cluster of families and family, is a republic in confederation with other republics, as the United States of Hinduism, each jealous of its prerogatives, but each a part of a great autonomy, with Panchayets in every trade, village, caste, and subsection of caste invested with judicial, social, commercial, and even sumptuary authority discussed in their own public meetings. What did it matter who the tyrant was that temporarily obscured their horizon, and took from them the surplus earnings which his death was sure to restore to the country? Even now, if the bulk of the lower castes did not settle their differences at the Councils of their Boards, and if the respectable and Conservative classes did not shrink from attendance at Courts of Justice, we might increase the area of litigation a hundredfold and yet not do a tenth of the work that is still done by the arbitration of the 'Brotherhood.'

"4. That the Indian Universities hold Oriental examinations to test the subjects taught in indigenous schools and colleges, without unnecessary prescriptions and over-regulations, and that these universities confer accepted indigenous titles on indigenous lines, as, for instance, was done by the Panjab University College, in awarding various grades of Pandit, Maulvi, Bhai, Kazi, Munshi, Hakim, &c. There can be no objection to a national university giving scholarships to the successful indigenous pupils or teachers, in order to enable them to prosecute their studies to higher standards. Indeed, mere examinations and the award of degrees are the least important work of a national university.

"5. The great importance, however, to science and to Government of indigenous learning will never be recognized unless a larger number of European Orientalists, than has hitherto been the case, is appointed to professorships in Government and other colleges. The knowledge of Arabic, or Sanscrit, is the best, if not the only key to the sympathies of Mohamedans and Hindus respectively, to whom Orientalists can appeal with effect, and whose learning they can help to preserve. Indeed, higher education requires to be strengthened, not in the direction of an increase of administrative machinery, which

experience has taught me is *the great obstacle to the progress of Indian education*, but in that of more teachers and more colleges. Colleges are quite able to administer their own affairs, and, practically, already do so, whilst their studies are sufficiently guided by the requirements of Universities, and of the public without any further administrative interference from without.

"6. The ability to read or write any of the vernacular characters might, after three years' notice, be insisted on as one of the *sine quâ non* qualifications of a voter, or elector, a course by which an immense stimulus will be given to primary education throughout the country.

"7. 'Whatever view may be held as regards the expediency of the so-called experiment of self-government in India, there can be little doubt as to the appropriateness of its introduction as regards education, at once the safest and the best concession. There should be no question as to the fulness of the educational powers at all events entrusted to Local Boards. Natives have at all times been anxious and scrupulous guardians of such education as they could appreciate, and this applies to those who, in the course of things, will take charge of primary, middle, and high schools respectively. There will be a saving and impetus to education in the abolition of the offices of the Director and the higher Inspectors of schools, who should retire on their pensions,' whilst their work will be done with infinitely greater efficiency by following the course recommended in my evidence before the Education Commission, and in my draft on 'Self-Government in Panjab,' from which I have quoted several passages.

"8. As regards the existing Government schools to be made over to local Boards, the first hour in each school should be devoted to the separate religious instruction, by accredited teachers of the members of the various denominations attending such school, the remaining five hours of school-instruction being devoted, as hitherto, to the joint secular instruction of all denominations. Government may not be able to do this, but local bodies should have no difficulty in introducing a measure into the schools taken over from Government which will eventually tend to make education, to a very great extent, self-supporting, in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Educational Despatches of the Secretary of State for India. Solely to increase the number of grant-in-aid schools, however desirable as a recognition of private enterprise, side by side with the regular system of national education would press hard on the poorer communities, especially on Mohamedans, and would, if successful, develop the spirit of sectarianism in the denominational grant-in-aid schools; a spirit which is modified by the joint secular instruction, as proposed, of all the denominations.

and their separate religious instruction. The suggested measure would also economize State aid, and conduce to efficiency in teaching, whereas the illimitable development of separate denominational grant-in-aid school, would involve the State in endless expenditure on generally less efficient schools.' On this subject I have to refer to the resolution of an important native society, the Anjuman-i-Panjab, which has successfully endeavoured, since 1865, to popularize Government measures.

"9. The only way in which Government could, with any advantage, encourage indigenous, or, indeed, other learning, is by liberally rewarding research, discovery, and erudition, of which a brilliant example has been lately reported in *The Times*. I refer to the munificent reward and high decoration which have been given by the German Empire to Dr. Koch on his return from Calcutta. In India the higher decorations are, apparently, reserved to civilians, military men, and native chiefs, whatever may be the services of others to Science, Education, and the State.

"10. The co-operation of the European learned societies and authors with the Panjab University in the spread of Oriental learning and the diffusion of western knowledge through the medium of the vernaculars. This is being attempted here by the establishment of an Oriental University, Museum, and Free Guest House, at Woking, regarding which you may have seen particulars in *The Times* and *The Athenæum*.

"11. 'The immediate, instead of the prospective, abolition of the departmental monopoly in books would also throw open a large market to the enterprise of publishers and authors in Europe and India. I need not point out what wide field this offers for the activity of Orientalists, but when I add further that the University in question has already issued over one hundred and ninety works, no doubt of varying degrees of merit, and chiefly translations or editions of existing works, that several hundred thousand copies of popular Persian, Urdu, and Panjabi poets are yearly lithographed by the unaided activity of the people of the Panjab; and that the 2000 State schools of that province absorb about 68,000 copies of one Urdu reader only, while the 13,000 indigenous Arabic, Sanscrit, Gurmukhi, and other schools have more or less extensive courses of reading; and that all this only refers to one province of the Indian Empire, a vista for literary enterprise it still further opened for Oriental authors and publishers, whose publications will be as valuable to us as those of India may be to them.

"12. The establishment of a Linguistic School in England, similar

to that in Paris, for the study of the languages, customs, religions, &c., of the East. Had such a school, for which I have agitated since 1859, been started, many of the difficulties that confront us in Egypt, and, indeed, that confront Gordon in Khartoum, would have been avoided. We shall have another Soudan in the so-called 'neutral zone' in Asia, unless we establish a school of interpreters, and utilize all existing linguistic material regarding that region.

"I will conclude with the words which, on a kindred subject, I addressed a quarter of a century ago, alas, in vain, to a meeting at the College of Preceptors. I hope that everything I have said to-night will not share the same fate; it was as regards Turkey I then said:— 'It is almost too late, as France and Russia have a great start; but better late than never.' The character of the English inspires more respect, it seems, in Orientals, than that of almost any other nation. . . . Yet we carelessly forego the national advantages of character, and sacrifice our commercial interests. In a higher point of view, it seems but fair that we should carry back to the East some of the enlightenment to which it gave the first inspiration; and that there, if anywhere, our Societies, as well as our Government, should not shirk the duty; the former of increasing the usefulness of their appliances, and the latter of appointing competent representatives of British policy, and of the cause of education."

Mr. FREDERIC PINCOTT writes as follows:—

"The inevitable tendency of an Education Department is towards extravagance; and this arises from the desire to show good results, and from the absence of personal interest in the ultimate cost. When unlimited funds are not available, as in India, an expensive system can be maintained only by limiting the area of its operation. This accounts for the fact that the Indian Education Department has tried to give a high education to a limited number, rather than to the task of giving an elementary education to the masses. It is clearly impossible, with the funds available, to extend the operation of the costly department beyond its present limits without the imposition of oppressive taxation. This elementary fact shows that education can never attain national expansion, except through the agency of the inexpensive indigenous schools. The great value of native agency can easily be demonstrated by the following comparison. The Anglicizing Departmental system is in operation throughout Bombay, North-West Provinces, Panjab, Central Provinces, Coory, and the assigned districts of Haidarabad, and thus attends to the educational wants of 99,000,000 of people. Throughout Madras, Bengal, and Assam, how-

ever, another system prevails, which, although to an extent departmental, is based on a recognition and encouragement of indigenous schools. The united populations of these three latter places is 105,000,000; thus we find that about half the people of India are under the Anglicizing system, and half under a modified indigenous system. But mark the difference in the result. In Bombay and its associated districts, with a population of 99,000,000, the total number of children under instruction amounts to 807,801; while in Madras, &c., with a population of 105,000,000, there are no less than 1,476,807 children under instruction. We thus see that in populations almost equal in numbers, the indigenous school method reaches nearly twice the number of children as the departmental methods. These figures may be taken as trustworthy, for they are given in the recent report of the Indian Education Commission, and in themselves constitute a thorough condemnation of the departmental system. It is simply amazing that, after establishing such a fact, the Commissioners should actually recommend an extension of the department's influence."

Mr. HYDE CLARKE concludes a letter on the same subject as follows:—

"Dr. Leitner had only one word at the end for a most important subject, his effort to endow London with a high school of the Oriental languages, which may enable us to vie with other countries. No one knows the value of this better than Dr. Leitner; no one is better able to accomplish this than the Professor at King's College, who formed pupils in Arabic and Turkish, whose distinction, it must be said with regret, was more marked than their number. We want for success something more than the scholastic method hitherto in force, or the attempt to confine Oriental studies to schoolboy colleges.

"If once Oriental studies were put on their proper footing in London, they would obtain the same cultivation as is awarded to other branches of knowledge, and it may be that the energetic efforts of men of independent means and position will enable us here also to compete with the professional students of the Continental countries."

The following letter on "Municipalities, Old and New," has appeared in *The Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore, dated 7th June, 1884:—

"Local self-government has constituted the chief characteristic of the development of the people of India from the earliest times. Every village formed a unit in the scheme of local autonomy, encouraged alike by the religion, the laws, and the customs of the country. It

was only in the towns and cities that the municipal administration was carried on by stipendiary Government officials, under native rule. Even here, however, the city magistrates and police were supplemented by a representative committee as far back as in the days of Akbar. That great administrator divided the larger cities into wards—*guzurs*—supervised by a representative member chosen from amongst the occupiers of property therein. The wards again were divided into *mohullas*, or subdivisions, represented by the *chaudhri*, or most influential person amongst the class who resided there. The general tendency of those times to make offices hereditary gradually affected the *mohulladars* and *chaudhris*; but still these persons did constitute a representative unpaid agency, who exercised some share of authority in parochial matters. The strength of the system rested on the broad base upon which it was established; and it requires little reflection to perceive that the true method of developing local self-government, upon lines which would accord with the popular prejudices, conditions, and customs, was to be found in utilizing the system already existing, while modifying it to suit the requirements of British rule. Some such idea as this influenced the local officers of Lahore in framing their proposals for extending the principles of local self-government into the Lahore city and district. In the villages it was proposed to appoint a *punchayat*, consisting—(1) of the hereditary representatives of the community, or *lumbardars*, and (2) of prominent members of the body of proprietors, who would be changed from time to time, and would introduce new blood into the commune. This *punchayat* was to be left to dispose of village funds in its own rough fashion, but it was also to have the power of nominating two of its members to the committee of the *zail*, or circle of villages; the *zail punchayat* would similarly send one member to the Tahsil Board, which again would elect representatives for the District Board. These two boards alone would be required to record proceedings and abide by rules.

“It will be observed that the proposed scheme strengthened existing organizations and utilized them in ensuring the election of representative members upon the Board, with the least possible change in the method of representation. In certain cases, the villagers already elect their own *lumbardars*, and what was more easy than for them to elect, say, two additional *punchayatis* according to the same method; which is this—each landholder states the name of the man he wants to the officer in charge of the tahsil. The *punchayat* then certifies to the same officer the members selected for the Zail Committee, and in cases of difference of opinion, the whole of the members would be asked to vote. The same practice would be repeated in the Zail Committee;

and the whole system would form an extension of the existing arrangements, while it would ensure the true representation of every village, and would give back to the *punchayat* of the village some of that authority and position which British rule has all along undermined and weakened.

“Again, in the towns there is no difficulty in finding out the most popular and prominent person in the *mohulla*; indeed he is already indicated in most cases in the persons of the *chaudhri* of the caste, class, or trade-guild which prevails in each *mohulla*; or in the head of the family which gives the *mohulla* its name. The boundaries of the old *mohullas* were regulated chiefly with reference to the caste, class, tribe or trade, which prevailed therein. In the bazars the same thing is found, the prevailing trade gives the name to the bazar, and each such bazar often forms a *mohulla* of itself. Having thus spread out our roots and fixed the *mohullas* and their chiefs, it is easy to control the latter by providing for their removal upon the petition of a majority of the residents in the *mohulla*, or upon the lapse of a given time. These *chaudhris* or headmen would scarcely exceed a hundred in all in the city of Lahore, if indeed so many were found necessary. The *mohullas* being grouped into wards, or *guzurs* as they were termed in native times, the headmen of each ward, comprising say ten or twelve men, would elect the ward member for the Municipal Committee. By such a system the widest representation would be combined with the simplest machinery; and it would only be occasionally necessary to correct abuses by holding actual elections in the *mohullas*. A rule excluding members of wards for a fixed term from re-election after the expiry of their term of office would guarantee an infusion of new blood.

“Instead of thus reinvigorating and moulding to our use the machinery which has survived the wear and tear of centuries, the British Government has from the first so centralized its authority, and so cast the burden of responsibility, that the *mohulladars* and *chaudhris* are daily losing what little authority they possessed. The very boundaries of the old *mohullas* and *guzurs* are becoming unknown, and the autocratic form of Government is nowhere better exemplified than in the fact that the only divisions of the city which now exist are the Police sections. The so-called municipal wards are simply these Police sections. It is a matter for regret that this is so, and that the new local self-government rules did not follow the lines indicated by the local authorities. The European election system might have been confined to the civil station, while the town and suburbs would have had their representative system modelled on that which has been

indicated. The services of the *mohulladars* could have been utilized for purposes of conservancy and local improvement, and in innumerable other ways, which will be understood by all who have come into contact with municipal work.

"Under the present system, the members of the Committee meet, discuss, and pass orders, which are carried out by a paid agency of *daroghas* and others acting under the President and Secretary. This paid agency must be inefficient unless a very large outlay can be sanctioned. Now, if we could engage the assistance of fifty or a hundred men of some position in the work, something might really be done. The *izzut* of their position will sufficiently remunerate them, and each individual will have only just enough work in his own little *mohulla* to engage him for an hour each morning. The paid agency can thus be reduced to a supervizing and reporting staff, sufficient to see that rules are obeyed, public rights respected, and the Committee kept *au courant* with all that goes on. Indeed, the ward members themselves would each, no doubt, here as at Dehli, gladly help in the supervision of their circle, or ward. The representatives of the old *mohulladars* and *chaudhris* still proudly retain the names of the offices of which the tradition alone now exists. This agency has been crushed or neglected, even of late years, and the ill success of our municipal administration is in a great measure owing to this fact—LOCAL AUTONOMY."

INDIGENOUS ELEMENTS
OF
SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDIA,
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
THE PANJAB
AND MORE PARTICULARLY IN
MATTERS OF EDUCATION.

*(As illustrated by the History of the Panjab University Movement from
1865 to the establishment of a Branch in London in 1884.)*

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LONDON:
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INTRODUCTION.

THE present paper is, practically, the promised continuation of an address which I delivered before the East India Association in January, 1875, on the subject of "Native Self-Government in India, especially "in matters of education," a policy regarding which I had collected a number of independent opinions from natives of position in the Panjab in 1865. Since then the policy has been adopted by the Indian Government, though not entirely on the basis of surviving indigenous systems or traditions, to be developed in accordance with the requirements of the age. The Panjab Government, however, has been foremost not only in its cordial acceptance of the principles of self-government as laid down by the Government of India, but also in its adaptation of indigenous methods. In educational matters certainly it has recognized the private enterprise which led to the foundation of the Anglo-Oriental University of the Panjab, and has paved the way for the establishment of "the people's own Department of Public Instruction," in accordance with the Educational Despatches of the Secretary of State for India, beginning with that of 1854. Whatever view may be held as regards the expediency of the so-called experiment of self-government in India, there can be little doubt as to the appropriateness of its introduction as regards EDUCATION, at once the safest and the best concession. I am therefore constrained to hold that the recommendations of the recent Indian Education Commission, especially if carried out in the spirit of their Report, will retard that consummation by practically diverting the funds for both higher and mass-education to an enlargement of the official administrative machinery (unless recourse be had to an increase in a singularly distasteful form of taxation), by suppressing the motives of native liberality, of which such numerous and signal instances have been given, within my own experience; and, finally, by creating a general spirit of disaffection in their proposed dealing with indigenous schools, the evil results of which can scarcely be overrated. Be that as it may, the object of this paper is to show the progress in a policy advocated by this Association in 1875, as also the further steps taken to carry out the principles of the Panjab University, then a College, and now, it is hoped, about to attract the co-operation of scholars and authors in Europe in its literary functions, as may be inferred from the welcome given to its London Branch by journalistic exponents of the scientific, political and religious worlds respectively. Above all would I venture to draw your attention to a consideration of the circumstances which serve to prove that the constitution of native

society in India is emphatically autonomous and republican (whether aristocratic, as with the Hindus, or democratic, as with the Sikhs and Sunni Muhammadans), and that this autonomy has ever been respected under the most despotic Governments that preceded the advent of British power. Any interference with that autonomy, such as, for instance, is still in a large measure preserved in the inner administration of castes or tribes, must inevitably lead to the destruction of the Government, however liberal and well-intentioned, that may attempt to anticipate by official measures the course of gradual social dissolution. The identification, on the contrary, of those elements in India that "have a stake in the country" with the British Government by means of their own revered associations, must, in my humble opinion, alike maintain British rule and further the cause of civilization. which can only be real if it rests on an indigenous basis and progresses with a natural development. The following memorandum on the subject of self-government in the Panjab applies, I believe, also to other provinces of our Indian Empire. At any rate it answers certain questions which were put to me in the discussion which followed the address to this Association in 1875, and which were postponed *sine die* owing to my return to India. It endeavours to show how ideas and measures connected with election, voting, self-government, &c., supposed to be exclusively European, if not English, can be rendered intelligible and acceptable in an Oriental garb to the great advantage of both the Government and the people.

There is, indeed, scarcely a domain of human knowledge in which we cannot learn as much from, as we can impart to, "the East." The careful study of the caste-system of India will suggest thoughts that may throw light on problems in the solution of which we are still engaged in Europe. The more we know of the politics of Muhammadanism, Hinduism and Sikhism, the better must we be able to co-operate with our fellow-subjects of those faiths in measures of public utility and in the administration of India. Certainly, in education, they ensure its dissemination more by treating piety and knowledge as one and indivisible, than by the dualism which threatens to dissociate religion from science in Europe, as has been so well pointed out by Dr. Abel, the great Oriental scholar, who is so successfully attempting to bring philology within the domain of practical daily life.

I am glad to find that the Panjab Government does not support the Educational Legislation which is proposed by the Education Commission, and with the advocacy of which I am erroneously credited in its Report.

A MEMORANDUM ON THE SUBJECT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE PANJAB.

A PAPER SUBMITTED TO THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,

BY G. W. LEITNER, LL.D., &c.

ON THE 27th MAY, 1884.

A.—ELEMENTS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT EXISTING AMONG THE SIKHS, MUHAMMADANS, AND HINDUS RESPECTIVELY.

1. With every appreciation of the style and statesmanship of the Draft Resolution on the subject of Self-Government by the Panjab Government, I cannot help feeling that it is more cautious than it need be. So far from considering the introduction of Self-Government to be premature in the Panjab, in any case, degree, or place, I fear that it is almost too late. The times have changed for the worse so far as the identification of the interests of the people with our own is concerned. The men with the traditions and capacity of rule whom I found in 1864 are now mostly dead. Among the names that occur to me without selection are those of Sirdar Shemsher Sing, Fakir Shamsuddin, Dewan Shankarnath, Sirdar J'amal Sing, Dewan Ajudiah Prasad, Nawab Riza Ali Khan, Pandit Radha Kishan, Diwan Baijnath, Sirdar Narain Sing, and others for Lahore and Amritsar alone.

The new generation, unless connected with both the past and the present by a wise administration, will have to create its experience through a course of transition and subversion.

The ancient institutions of the country, Religious, Educational, Economical, Administrative, and Judicial, are dying or defunct, and will require revival in harmony with the spirit of the age. The chivalrous loyalty of the Panjab, which took with equal readiness to agriculture and to arms, burns more and more faintly. The Republican, if aristocratic, instincts of the province are subdued under a practically irresponsible bureaucracy of aliens in measures,

feelings, interest and knowledge, although ennobled by good intentions. For say what one may, the traditions which have maintained Indian society for thousands of years, are Republican. If its fabric, shaken to its foundation, is to be consolidated in a manner worthy of British rule it must be by the spread of Republican institutions. That these are not a novelty may be shown by a brief reference to the three great communities that inhabit the Panjab.

I.—*The Sikhs*

from whom we took over the responsibilities of rule, after a period of disturbance, following the firm, wise, and, as may be proved, emphatically benignant government of Runjeet Sing. All their affairs, secular and spiritual, as the latter still are, were regulated at the four great "Takhts"—literally Boards, Platforms, or Thrones—of Akhalghar, Anandpur, Patna, and Abchalnagar, where every Sikh, great or small, had a voice, for did not Gurn Govind himself, after investing four disciples with the "pahal," stand in a humble attitude before them to be invested in his turn? Again, whenever Sikhs meet in the Guru's name there is the *fifth* Takht, and it is not long ago that at one of them the idolatrous practices, justified by the Durbar of Amritsar, were condemned by the consent of the faithful assembled at Akhalghar. If Runjeet Sing had his way in non-religious matters, it was because the Khalsa highly approved of his conduct, but the Khalsa could act even on "Radical" principles, when it elected Jassa Sing Ahluwalia, the founder of the Kapurthala House, then a common coolie, to lead the twelve Sikh Sirdars on to Delhi. Men and women, clergy and laity, of sacred or profane descent, all is merged in the one standing of "*Sikh*"—learner or disciple.

II.—*The Muhammadans,*

in so far as they are Sunnis and people of the congregation (Ahl jama'at), have no *raison d'être* if they do not acknowledge the elective principle in political matters, the ground on which they separated from the adherents of the hereditary principle, the Shiah. Indeed with the latter the Sovereign has sunk below the priesthood, whilst with the former the greatest ruler is only acknowledged if he rules theocratically. The experience of their institutions, the absence of class or caste in pure Muhammadanism, and the partial success of the "Umûma" Turkish parliament, so long as it lasted, not to speak of the Council of all races of the revered Al-Ma'mûn and other Khalifas, the autonomy of every race and creed under Turkish rule, are the

examples, if not proofs, to be held out for *our* encouragement in the noble task which the Government has undertaken, if not for the guidance of our Muhammadan fellow-citizens.

III.—*The Hindus*

are an agglomeration of innumerable Commonwealths, each governed by its own social and religious laws. Each race, tribe and caste, cluster of families and family, is a republic in confederation with other republics, as the United States of Hinduism, each jealous of its prerogatives, but each a part of a great autonomy with Panchayets in every trade, village, caste, and subsection of caste invested with judicial, social, commercial, and even sumptuary authority discussed in their own public meetings. What did it matter who the tyrant was that temporarily obscured their horizon and took from them the surplus earnings which his death was sure to restore to the country? Even now, if the bulk of the lower castes did not settle their differences at the Councils of their Boards, and if the respectable and Conservative classes did not shrink from attendance at Courts of Justice, we might increase the area of litigation a hundredfold and yet not do a tenth of the work that is still done by the arbitration of the "Brotherhoods." In my remarks under Paragraphs 21 to 38 of the Draft Resolution I have ventured to say something more on the subject of the existing elements of Self-Government among Sikhs, Muhammadans, and Hindus respectively. The annexed collection of opinions on "a provincial representative Council for the Punjaub," and in the proposed establishment of village Panchayets elicited by the Anjuman-i-Punjaub Association in 1868-69 and in 1879 respectively, may show both the existence and decadence of the citizen spirit in the province.

B.—SUGGESTIONS FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF SELF-GOVERNMENT INTO THE PANJAB IN A MANNER THAT SHALL BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE PEOPLE AND ADVANTAGEOUS TO THE GOVERNMENT.

2. To revive that spirit in the maintenance of order is only possible on the old lines, but the boon of Self-Government must be conferred honestly, unreservedly, and on Oriental methods, adapted to present circumstances. The announcement must be made to the people in a manner which they can appreciate. It must not coincide with increased taxation or with the introduction of Anglicizing forms and tendencies. To be an elector must be made a privilege and to become a member of a board should be rendered an object of ambition as well as a sacred trust. The terms for elector,

all events entrusted to Local Boards. Natives have at all times been anxious and scrupulous guardians of such education as they could appreciate, and this applies to those who in the course of things will take charge of primary, middle, and high schools respectively. As stated in my evidence before the Education Commission, there will be a saving and impetus to education in the abolition of the offices of Director and the higher Inspectors of schools.

The district inspectors might remain for the present, but I would not fill up their places on vacancies occurring. If every head-master of a high school were to inspect the middle schools of his district for a fortnight in the cold weather and for a month in the hot weather, as part of his regular duty, making arrangements for the conduct of his work during his absence, not only would there be relief afforded to him from constant teaching, and his subordinates learn to manage a school, but he would also exert a beneficial and constant influence on the schools in his district, which are the natural feeders of his own school. In the same way, each head of a middle school could inspect a certain number of primary schools, and with the same beneficial result of co-operation throughout the district.

The high schools themselves, which are generally at the headquarters of the district, could easily and constantly be inspected by the district officers and by the Central Local Board, which would count a certain number of educated European non-officials and others among its members, the head-master, of course, also being one and possessing a vote, which I consider to be essential to his dignity and proper influence.

In the course of a few years this system would work so well as to give an opportunity to dispense with the services of the District Inspectors, should Government wish to avail itself of this opportunity, or should Municipal and District Committees prefer to give a larger proportion of their educational allotment to the substance of education, the teaching itself, than to its present expensive framework, the inspecting of the work of others. We should thus have gradually more and more schools, inspired by a healthy emulation, and under the supervision of those whose interest and sympathies alike must combine to render them more and more efficient and numerously attended.

“The abolition of the Directorship and of the Inspectorships would
 “eventually set free for purely educational purposes a saving of
 “about Rs. 1,73,000 per annum; and if the pernicious book *dépôt*
 “were also abolished, which costs about Rs. 50,000, a spirit of
 “educational and literary freedom would breathe throughout the

“country, the moral, intellectual, and pecuniary benefits of which cannot be over-estimated.”

I would also point out that the Senate of the Panjab University College, now raised to the status of a complete University with extensive privileges, might, with propriety, be constituted the Provincial Board of Education, as it has already had twelve years' experience in Educational Administration, including matters connected with an extensive and varied system of Examinations, teaching, and the encouragement of literature. Itself a pre-eminently representative body and the creation of the people, it would be in natural sympathy with the Local Boards, and assist them with advice and the results of examinations. Any further inspection than that by District Inspectors, head-masters, and the various Local Boards themselves already alluded to, can be provided by the Panjab University if required.

This institution has a recess of three months, during which its assistant professors, teachers, fellows, translators and senior scholars (already engaged in holiday tasks), may be fitly employed in inspecting the schools, at all events in their own districts, and in stimulating literary research and educational enterprise in their respective specialities, whilst the Oriental graduates of the Lahore Oriental College—the certificated Pandits, Moulvis, Munshis, Bhais, Hakeems, Baidis, Kazis, and Pradhivivas who come from every part of the Panjab, not to speak of trans-frontier students—may be similarly called upon to inspect indigenous schools. The scheme of inspection which I submit for the consideration of Government, is obviously more thorough, sympathetic and constant, as well as far less expensive than the present one. It combines local with outside inspection by those directly interested in its success and in the expansion of educational enterprise, which an official department never can be to the same extent, with any regard to self-preservation. It will also attract the honorary services of many interested in education, whether Oriental, Vernacular or Anglo-Vernacular, and one of its first effects will be to render District Inspectors unnecessary, and thus to save the whole cost of paid inspection, as head-masters get into the way of inspecting the schools below their own, as they alone can efficiently.

Then as regards the cost of education, it must also be eventually saved, first to Government and then to the Local Boards themselves, by the introduction of “Self-Government in matters of education coincident with the removal of the official obstacle in its progress.” For instance, once it is really believed that Government is desirous of encouraging indigenous primary and higher education, all the noble, wealthy and religious of whatever denomination, will come forward

in the traditional munificent support of an education, however advancing with the age, which they can understand, and will spare neither time nor thought in its efficient management. With the accretion of funds and the revival of the educational spirit all education, including the spread of Western science and of the English language, will also prosper, whereas, without such funds and such spirit, it must continue to starve.

One of the results of the course which I venture to advocate, will be the restoration of assignments to schools by Jagirdars and Muafidars, without any cost to Government. Similarly, the village schools, by receiving a small portion of the village waste-land, will be placed in a position to become self-supporting and permanent, and may eventually contribute to the revenues instead of being a charge to the State or the villages. (*See suggestions in my "History of Indigenous Education."*)

The apprehension, suggested in page 15 of the Draft Resolution, of Self-Government being inapplicable where the funds at the disposal of the board would be so insignificant as to make its proceedings ineffectual, would also be removed, if Government, influenced by far-sighted economic considerations, took the opportunity of the introduction of the scheme of Self-Government of giving grants of waste land to such boards or to local bodies generally, wherever practicable, (reserving the usual rights of taking up portions for public purposes). Gifts of Nazul buildings and of land to educational bodies would similarly be popular and eventually remunerative to the State. Then would the gift of Self-Government be a gift indeed in the eyes and the revived affections of the people. The "elector" will feel his privilege, and the "member" his responsibility more deeply.

It will strengthen the State-feeling, and it will be a step towards making the native of India a British citizen. I have no doubt that if the scheme of Self-Government is honestly advocated and generously and fearlessly carried out in the Province, it will, with its indigenous safeguards, even now identify the Panjab with the cause of progress and of its Government, a task which is indeed worthy of the British nation and of the efforts of every one of its servants.

G. W. LEITNER.

SIMLA, 16th August, 1882.

C.—SUGGESTIONS ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE PANJAB GOVERNMENT.

[The nature of the paragraphs of the Draft Resolution in question is sufficiently obvious from the following suggestions thereon. A

comparison of these suggestions with the Final Resolution of the Panjab Government, which is published further on, will show to what extent they have been adopted.]

I.—THE RESOLUTION might be sent with advantage, as on previous occasions, when Legislative measures were under contemplation, to the Anjuman-i-Panjab and its affiliated Hindu, Muhammadan and Sikh societies, as these bodies represent those elements in the country that possess some stake in it, and have already been co-operating for the public good with Government officials.

Paragraph 2. If the Resolution of the Government of India has in any way been modified, it might be well to republish it in its modified form, so as to prevent any possible misapprehension that the Supreme Government is inclined to give more than the Local Government is prepared to advocate.

CARE IN TRANSLATION.

Paragraph 3. It would be well, especially in translations, issued to the natives, to make a sparing use of phrases like "local bodies" "should be allowed the fullest possible liberty of action," because such assurances are liable to be understood to mean more than they really do, and to give rise to expectations which cannot be immediately fulfilled. The contrast between profession and practice has already before now led to disappointment, if not to a disbelief in the reality of concessions or reforms not announced by Government in the simple, concrete and dramatic form which is alone intelligible to the Oriental mind.

NO IMMEDIATE INCREASE OF TAXATION.

Paragraph 4. The scheme of Self-Government, if worked in the spirit of this paragraph will, no doubt, make Government more popular, whilst diverting the criticism of the people to their own representatives. These, however, will not be able at the outset to face the odium of, say, increased taxation, and it would, therefore, appear to be desirable that no such increase should, for the present, coincide with the establishment of the Local Boards, but rather that funds should be set free for local improvements, by a better redistribution, if not by a reduction in the cost of administration, whilst making the maintenance of the present burdens at their present figure obligatory for the present.

RECONSTITUTION OF PANCHAYETS.

Paragraph 5. The repeated failure of the house-tax since annexation and the success of the system of town duties and of the association of the town-franchise in originating and executing local improvements under the supervision of the Commissioner, seem to me to be an

indication of what we should immediately attempt, namely, the reconstitution, on an improved basis, of the village, district, and town "Panchayets," including Trade-Panches, with their Chaudris, and investing them with certain administrative, if not to some extent with judicial, powers. (*See remarks on Paragraph 38.*)

A PROVINCIAL COUNCIL.

Paragraph 6. Here again the importance of utilizing existing indigenous elements of Self-Government, or of reviving those that have only recently perished, seems to me to be now as it was before 1862, the first condition of the success of any scheme of Self-Government in this country, and this would include the nomination of a Provincial Council of men of rank and consideration, in conjunction even with the officers of Government, although this course was deprecated by Sir Donald McLeod. (*See remarks on Paragraph 38.*)

THE ADMINISTRATIVE FAILURE OF AN EXPERIMENT IN POLITICAL EDUCATION.

Paragraph 7. The natural disinclination of officials to retard work or to efface themselves by depending on representative bodies for the conduct of affairs, will be an obstacle now as it was in 1862 in fully appreciating their labours. Unless, therefore, the Government is prepared for the greatest patience under the temporary inevitable failure of the scheme as regards apparent efficiency and even honesty, the encroachment of the official element will become as injurious to real Self-Government as was the Act of 1867 (*see Paragraph 8*), which destroyed elective representation throughout the country in spite of the congratulatory testimony of Lord Mayo to the progress of quasi-official Municipal Government in the province. (*See Paragraph 9.*)

ELECTION THE TRUE BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.

Paragraph 10. The failure of the elective system is a reason for its improvement, but not for the abandonment of the only true basis of representative institutions. The enlargement of the powers of District Committees seems to me to be the most hopeful feature of the present scheme, for these bodies include what is most stable in the country.

Paragraph 12. Official interference, however benevolent, as in 1879, will ever be a serious check on the growth and enterprise of representative institutions in this country. No balances should ever be withdrawn from the economy of Local Boards.

Paragraph 13. The power of taxation as well as, to some extent,

of the collection of revenue should be entrusted to District Committees.

Paragraph 14. It seems to me that by being both advisers and communicating channels, the authority of the Government officers, especially at first, will be more than sufficiently maintained, whilst "Self-Government" seems to be a misnomer unless it is accompanied by the principle of "election."

PANCHAYETS.

Paragraph 15. Local or Sub-Divisional Boards are properly *Panches* or *Sar-panches*. It would be desirable to keep or revive ancient designations, such as "Chowdri," the latter, *e.g.*, not being a mere term for the factotum of a trade or caste, but also a title often preserved by Jaghirdars and local Chiefs and still addressed in courtesy by one Zemindar to another. The funds in poor places might often be rendered ample, if waste lands were given by Government as commune-lands under the direction of these Local Boards. There is, in my humble opinion, no locality where members are not to be found who know some of its wants better than any outsider can possibly know them, and where their advocacy of improvements would not carry greater weight with their ignorant countrymen than that of an anglicized native whose ideas often appear to them to be indicative of impatience under moral and religious restraints. No political circumstances also exist in this province, where the association of the people would be a risk or anything but a decided advantage.

Paragraph 16. *Sections of existing* District Boards are not so useful as would be the re-constitution of Panchayets working in connection with District Boards.

Paragraph 17. The Panchayets should, in my humble opinion, be composed as described in my remarks on Paragraph 38. In addition to the ordinary members, there mentioned, the village community might be empowered to elect a "Mo'tamid" either for the whole village, if they are all of one religion or several Mo'tamids for each sect. In petty towns each trade should, moreover, elect a Chowdri, duly recognized by Government, who shall represent the claims, wishes, and grievances of his trade before the Local Board, whilst each caste, in addition to its own Panchayet for the settlement of intramural disputes, might also depute an authorized "Serr-zát" to represent his caste in extramural disputes with other castes.

Paragraph 18. A Rural Board, well composed, as it always can be, from a general, though not from an official, point of view, may anywhere become a *consultative* body, as regards general questions or

questions affecting more than one local body, for it is obvious that it can have no executive or legislative power over another locality or Local Board than its own without clashing with it. It seems to me that the distinction of 1st, 2nd, and 3rd class among Local Boards should depend on their income and the extent of their administration, and not on the invidious distinction of their business capacity, though no doubt titles or increased rank and power might be given to some bodies, as such, and to distinguish themselves by faithful and successful administration of their trust, irrespective of their "class," as an incentive to good work.

Paragraph 19. I should not make the Delegates, from the Sub-divisional Boards to the Local Boards, *permanent*; but have them changed according to their convenience, and the wishes of the Sub-divisional Boards that send them. I would have the Municipal Committee rather a feature of the Great Divisional or District Board than allow District Boards to deal with questions arising where municipal or local interests may over-lap. On such occasions both the District and the Municipal Boards should arrange to meet and settle the matter between them.

Paragraph 20. All non-officials sitting on District and other boards should be permanent residents of their respective districts, with the exception of those European non-officials who may be elected. No one should be eligible as a member of the board who has not an income, if in money, of, at least, Rs. 50 per mensem, or if a landed proprietor of Rs. 25 per mensem, derived from landed property, unless he be a hereditary and reputed Moulvi, Pandit, or Bhai, whom his responsibility and traditional occupation as teacher, priest, or religious judge is likely to keep above suspicion in the popular mind.

(For my views on the subject of the relation of the various boards to one another, I beg to refer to the remarks under Paragraph 38.)

THE ELECTION OF REPRESENTATIVES IS AN ORIENTAL TRADITION.

Paragraph 21. Election is by no means unfamiliar to native ideas. The whole of the SUNNI MUHAMMADAN HIERARCHY rests on it. The very name of the bulk of Muhammadans in India who are "ahl sunnat 'wa jamá'át" implies the *consensus fidelium*. The Khalifas were originally elective, although they were *desired* to possess "the seven 'qualifications,'" and it is merely owing to the spread of Shiah notions and of the Sayads who adopt them for the sake of personal pride, that this office is said, even by men like the Rev. W. Hughes, to be hereditary in the Koreish tribe. It was the "fraud" practised in the *election* of Moavya, not the election itself, that led to the schism

between Ali and Moavya, the representatives, it may be said, of the two great divisions of the Muhammadan world, the Sunnis and Shiahhs, for both the rivals for the Khalifat submitted their claims to universal suffrage. All *Kázis* may be elected by the people, and indeed they ought to have their offices *forced* on them. It was the subsequent ascendancy of the House of Osman which subordinated the independent *Kázis* to the political power, whilst it may be incidentally mentioned that a *Kázi* is primarily for civil, *not* for religious administration. Any learned man, to whatever class of life he may belong, may become a Moulvi, Imám, Mufti, &c., and, indeed, he often adopts the title of his own accord along with his new profession. All the institutions of Ancient Arabia, on which Muhammadanism is based, are emphatically Republican, if not theocratic, though the king's rule is theocratic and is therefore alone *absolute*, provided he maintains, or does not overthrow, the true religion. Among the SIKHS "learners," "disciples," "brothers," "teachers," is the only real distinction between Sikhs and outsiders, whilst, in spite of the hereditary principle admitted more by courtesy than by right of Bedi and Sodhi (even where this is not considered to be heterodox) the rule of the Sikhs was the "*Khalsa*" which was thoroughly elective, representative and republican, Ranjit Singh being merely *primus inter pares* among the other chiefs and the "first of servants" of the *Khalsa*, the representative Commonwealth of Sikhism. Among the HINDUS each household is a commonwealth governed by an aristocrat, and the whole history of the Hindu village communities, of Hindu guilds and of Hindu castes, shows how strong republicanism is in Oriental human nature, Brahmins and Kshatriyas dividing the political rule which each of them alone could not monopolize, and the supreme power being so hedged round by interminable conventions and ceremonial observances as to show itself to exist as a mere general convenience and on sufferance during bearable behaviour. No doubt that, crushed by the officials of native rule, both the conditions of theocratic and conventional absolute power, as regards politics and the maintenance of State-splendour from the taxes of the people, were often lost sight of among a population sometimes oppressed for generations, but they always re-appear, whilst the practice of Self-Government alone has kept together for several thousands of years the castes and trades of India, and has, at little or no cost to the State, provided justice to the people and enabled it to manage its own affairs, the Government having little else to do than to appropriate for its own use the surplus means which chiefly an internal agency placed at its disposal. Indeed, the whole fabric of Indian society has, till our

advent, been kept together by the representative principle based on trust and election, though hereditary claims have *caeteris paribus* very properly ever been considered where traditional responsibility had transmitted the sacred trust of representation from father to son.

Paragraph 22. In frontier or backward districts or towns where a general election might no doubt be a signal for disturbance, I am also convinced that, if the introduction of the principle of election be really desired by the authorities, each clan or caste could *separately* elect, as indeed it now elects, its own head, representative, or factotum for internal administration. Indeed, an election of the kind proposed would be conducive to peace, for heads of clans, even of hostile factions so elected, would have to learn to work together, under the eye, in such cases, of the Deputy-Commissioner. Jirgahs would be quite impossible on the frontier, if feeling invariably ran as high, as to defeat an election. The only popular opposition to election is caused by the fear that the *novi homines* created by our rule are the men who are really desired by the authorities, to the displacement of the traditional representatives of the people. So far from towns being more amenable to "election" than backward rural districts, I believe that only the *outward* process of election in the former case will be conducted according to our ideas, whereas the districts will elect men who are far more truly representative and far more wedded to the maintenance of order and of government than the urban members.

THE HONOUR AND RESPONSIBILITY OF CITIZENSHIP AND DETAILS REGARDING ELECTIONS.

Paragraph 23. If the qualification both for voting and membership were, especially in towns, to depend on the amount of taxes paid, one element of their unpopularity would be eliminated, for the taxpayer would feel that in proportion as he paid more he possessed a greater power in the State. In Simla the larger house proprietors have, I understand, more than one vote on some such system. Besides, this consideration would be an inducement not to conceal one's income, a circumstance which will not be without importance in the levying, say, of an income tax, as it may often get within its net those who are just on the border of taxable incomes. But, whatever is done, there must be spread a knowledge of the *honour* and responsibility of citizenship and I would propose that some honorific name be given to all voters, such as "Rai-dehinda," and that all voters have the privilege of attending, as members of the public, one and all the meetings of Panchayets, Circle, District, Municipal, and Divisional Boards, so that they may know how

their representatives discharge their trust and so as to initiate them into the progress and conduct of affairs. Once a year a general meeting should be held at each village, circle, town and district capital, at which the District Report of the year should be read, and be publicly adopted, at which suggestions from taxpayers and voters should be received, and at which Khillats should be distributed and the award of titles be announced. Elections also in every third or even second year of such members of Boards as are nominated by that process might be arranged to be finally confirmed at such meetings. As regards elections, I can only give a very rough sketch of their procedure. It would seem well to confirm or state the elections of village representatives to the Circle Board and of the latter to the District Board at the public annual meetings. Perhaps also the other elections to the District Boards, if not to the Divisional and Provincial Board might be announced on the same or similar occasions. In towns, the course of election would proceed according to the distribution of their inhabitants in sects, castes, tribes, and religions, and unless I have the returns of a particular town before me it would seem useless to do more than lay down general principles. As a rule, the names of the proposed candidates should be publicly notified at least two months before their election, and the election should take place at a public meeting:—1st, by a show of hands, and 2nd, by registering votes or the ballot. The qualifications of an elector of the 1st class should be that he is twenty-one years of age, sane, has not been convicted of a criminal offence, belongs to the better castes or classes, and has an income, if in towns of, at least, 25 rupees per mensem, and makes a statement of faithful discharge of his duties as elector. In return, he gets a certificate of citizenship, the title of "Rai-dehinda," has the right to vote for his member, and to be present at all the meetings of his board, when he may be accommodated with a bench, the members of every board down to the lowest Panchayet, when sitting in such a capacity, being accommodated with chairs. The electors of the 2nd class are those that elect for their own trade or caste Panchayets and send *Wakils*, not members, to the boards. The electors of the 3rd class are those of the lowest castes. Reverting to the subject of a show of hands, it will practically be a more easy and accurate, as well as economical manner for ascertaining popular wishes in a country like the Panjab regarding a candidate, than merely the ballot or the registration of votes, which are liable to be bought up *en masse* by a canvasser from the careless or dishonest elector, whilst proceedings in open Durbar are calculated to interest everyone present and can be invested with sufficient solemnity so as to avoid the occurrence of

improper interruptions. These registrations of opinions, except at public meetings, such as I have described, are not in the genius of the people, for they discuss all caste affairs in common and, after the show of hands which may serve as a general indication of the popular feeling, the voters can easily go up to the registering clerk and write or dictate the name of their candidate. Possibly, the ballot may be a protection to timid voters, but as many of them will leave the trouble of writing to others, it offers too great a temptation to unscrupulous canvassers in this country, besides somewhat impairing the sense of public responsibility of the voter, especially if there be no show of hands. It is almost unnecessary to add that the district officer should in no case show any predilection for a particular candidate. All that he is concerned with is to exercise a power of veto on seditious or insufficiently "qualified" candidates. Among qualifications for district elections I would also eliminate those belonging to castes, such as Khelláls, Ráwals, Kasáís, Dhobis, Mullahs, Chumars and Mehters, if not Sûds, though in towns it might not be practicable to guard against the admission of members of these castes, if wealthy and otherwise respectable, excepting Dhobis, Chumars, and Mehters, whose interests are sufficiently represented by their Wakils before the various boards. It seems to me to be strange that there can be a question how in a country which has governed itself so long, and, I believe on the whole, so well without our aid, the people, even if not "educated" in our sense, should be able to give an honest and intelligent vote in the conduct of their own affairs, my own experience being that natives of the East are generally as intelligent as the less educated classes in Europe, even in such countries as Germany, Austria, and England, and certainly are far more so than in Russia. Besides, the ability to write any of the vernacular characters might, after three years' notice, be insisted on as one of the *sine quâ non* qualifications of a voter or member, a course by which an immense stimulus will be given to primary education throughout the country.

24. The plan already adopted at Amritsar is an excellent one, but I would not suggest the qualifications being high, except as regards caste and respectability, and I would also leave the election of the *panchayats* to the castes and trades concerned, and not in the hands of the Deputy-Commissioner. (See election rules of Amritsar Municipality, printed further on. These rules are apparently to be *less* liberal in future.—See *Punjab Gazette*, April 10, 1884.)

25. I would not maintain the district officer in *any* position, with or without a vote, on any board, otherwise the infancy of the movement will be prolonged *ad infinitum*. Let the district officers act not

only as checks but also as friendly advisers, and let the members come to them freely for advice, but, if they are present, the boards will never learn to act for themselves. Besides, when the boards communicate their resolutions to the District Commissioner for submission to Government, if necessary, he has an opportunity to suggest their reconsideration or to point out difficulties, but this ought not to be done except when the public welfare would really suffer by the action of the boards. Finally, no one prevents the district officer or anyone from submitting proposals to the Board, but on no account should he be present at its deliberations.

26. The district officer should only be the channel of communication between the boards and departments of Government, but never between one board and another. This is a matter for the boards themselves to arrange.

27. In my humble opinion the district officers and tahsildars should not be members of Municipal Committees and District Boards, and they should have no power whatever on these bodies except such as is derived from their position as representatives of Government, able to put a veto on all such actions of these bodies as seem to them to be contrary to public welfare, pending reference of the matter to Government.

28. I should have wished to have added the head of "Collection of Revenue" to the head of "Powers of Local Bodies," and to have omitted the heading, "Checked by the Local Government," as this is rather the limit of local power than one of the elements of it.

29 (a). *Taxation*.—It seems to me important, for the present, that there should be neither increase nor reduction of taxation, as the former course would throw discredit on the measure of Self-Government, and the latter course, although ensuring popularity for that measure, will hamper the action of local bodies for want of funds. As expenditure is reduced and new sources of income offer, revision of taxation might take place, but it should not be forgotten that it must ever be the tendency of representative popular bodies to *reduce* taxation, and, therefore, the power of Self-Government can only be handed over to them on condition of maintaining certain institutions in a state of efficiency, without, however, specifying the precise amount at which such efficiency must be maintained.

30. I see no objection to investing all boards with power of taxation, and if the people are to be entrusted in the maintenance of schools, daks and roads, it would seem advisable to keep these cesses separate, so as to have a claim on the liberality of the people when the amounts contributed by them are manifestly insufficient to maintain

them in a proper condition, and also in order to enable the people to judge whether the amounts contributed by them for certain purposes are really spent on those purposes.

31. Unless the Local Government itself limit its power of interference, suspension, or supersession on the occurrence of breaches of their trust by Local Boards, this paragraph and sec. 17 of the Municipal Act may be used to frustrate the objects of the resolution; for it is certain that many officers do not look with favour on this measure, and it would be difficult for the Local Government to set aside recommendations made in good faith and avowedly in the public interest.

THE POLICE SHOULD BE UNDER THE LOCAL BOARDS, RATHER THAN
"PUBLIC WORKS."

32 (c). I should have preferred the maintenance of the police as a charge to Local Boards rather than the "*expenditure on the public works*," until their construction had been advertised for competition by the department concerned in the various localities, and it had been ascertained that private, competent, and efficient enterprise was forthcoming, under proper guarantees, in which case alone I should have entrusted the Local Boards with their supervision and payment; otherwise, the charge to the community of works done by the contractors may be greater and the work less efficient than that done by Government, which has not only the power of doing work efficiently, but also of punishing inefficient officers departmentally without having recourse to the expensive and wearisome process of suing contractors in courts of law. In Prussia the Government is buying up the private railways with the view of cheapening the fares and giving a cheap and effective departmental redress to the injured public in the event of any failure on the part of the railway staff. Similarly, it is proper to encourage private enterprise in order to distribute public patronage more universally, but it is not proper to encourage *one* private individual to put many thousands of rupees into his pocket to the disadvantage of the general tax-paying community.

As regards the inclusion of the police, or "Kāla belá" (the black infliction) as it is popularly called, in the "powers of Local Boards," I can imagine no measure which would confer greater respectability on that body, invest it with greater responsibility and more secure for it the confidence of the people, as well as be more conducive to the public safety and avoid wrongful prosecutions as well as the desire of procuring the largest number possible of convictions. A local police would be recruited by respectable men, who would undoubtedly serve on less pay, besides being intimately acquainted with the character

and whereabouts of offenders. They might, of course, be open to local influence in favour of leniency, but this they are already, and this drawback may be compensated by the decided advantage of not depending for their promotion upon the number of convictions. There is no doubt things were better and Government more popular when district officers were in charge of the police.

33 (d), (i). It seems to me unnecessary to lay down hard and fast rules that "D. P. W.* salaries and absentee allowances should not "exceed 21 per cent. of the income available for the D. P. W. expenditure during the year;" whilst I am certainly of opinion that the expenditure on construction which is not an ever-occurring charge should be limited by the budget, under that head, for the year. This course often leads to much delay and expenditure on a work when spread over several years, which might be done within one year by exceeding the Budget allowance. Were it not for such hard and fast rules, we should never have heard of the extravagant expenditure of the D. P. W., or of the panacea of entrusting public works to private speculators, who cannot be assumed to have the same sense of responsibility and public spirit as even the average of public servants. At the same time, I am strongly in favour of offering the construction of public works to public competition.

"CONFIRMATION" OF PROCEEDINGS BY DEPUTY-COMMISSIONERS.

34. I do not understand why the proceeding of third class bodies should be subjected to "confirmation" by Deputy-Commissioners; because, if "confirmation" means merely the attestation of the correctness of these proceedings, the next meeting of a Local Board can best "confirm" the accuracy of its previous proceedings, whereas the Deputy-Commissioner cannot do so, he not having been present at the meeting. If, however, "confirmation" means that the proceedings shall have no effect unless confirmed by Deputy-Commissioners, it would be better if the Deputy-Commissioner were to remain a member of the board and heard the arguments against his own view put forward in his presence. Not to do so, and yet to overrule proceedings, simply hands all the power over to the person or persons who, although in a minority of number and argument on the board, may have elicited the Deputy-Commissioner's opinion before coming to the meeting. In my humble opinion, "confirmation" by the Deputy-Commissioner, in the latter sense, strikes at the very root of Self-Government, and will make the measure appear to the native mind as a perfect sham; whilst confirmation in the first sense has only the

* Department of Public Works.

advantage of being an ascertainment of the fact that the proceedings are regularly and intelligibly kept, which is superfluous, as the board can "confirm" its proceedings in that case, and the Deputy-Commissioner can always ask what they mean, if he does not understand them.

EXPLANATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT IN THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS.

35. "General principles" should certainly be laid down in very simple language in the vernacular for the guidance of District Committees; but I do not suppose that they are expected to know all the principles approved by Government in the several Departments of Administration, considering that these principles are not invariable, and considering also that all the officers of the various departments, for instance, the Educational, do not precisely know what these principles are. Indeed, it would be an advantage, although the observation does not belong to the present inquiry, to furnish each officer of Government, in whatever department and in whatever grade, with the statement of "general principles" affecting his department. Then alone shall we have Departmental Government instead of, as now, departmental *machinery*, in conflict with the machinery of other departments, if not in practical opposition to the policy of the Government, which, on its own side, should cease to be personal and become a mere organization to carry out the most enlightened principles in every branch of the service of the public.

36 (*e*, *Miscellaneous*). Without necessarily binding a Local Board for ever, "the alienation of property vested in local bodies," whether large or small, should on no account depend on the sanction of the Deputy-Commissioner, or even Commissioner, but only on that of the Local Government, and this sanction should only be given with the greatest caution, otherwise there will be no encouragement for public-spirited citizens to make charitable or other endowments. Perhaps I do not understand the meaning of the phrase I have quoted above; but, anyhow, it is well to make some such provision in order to encourage local gifts and endowments which at all times have been munificent in Eastern countries. The intention and spirit of a donor's wishes should ever be scrupulously observed, although the vicissitudes of time may render a *literal* application of them impossible.

I also venture to object to the provision that "the Deputy-Commissioner should be authorized to interpose and regulate matters affecting religion." This is the very last thing he should do, for if

their observance affects the "public peace," the latter provision is alone amply sufficient to justify his interference. The modification of "obligatory expenditure" should, I understand, be initiated by the Local Boards themselves, subject to sanction by the Local Government; but this point should be made clearer, as it is possible to infer from the sentence as it now stands, that the Commissioner or Local Government may make such modification of their own accord without previous reference to the Local Board.

I can also see no advantage in introducing a third authority in addition to the Commissioner and Local Government, namely, the heads of Departments. One authority, that of the Commissioner or Deputy-Commissioner, should be sufficient, so far as the sanction of the Local Government may be required, and the Local Government may then consult whoever they like, if it be necessary to do so.

Otherwise, the Local Boards will have practically to deal with a number of governments in the heads of various departments, beyond whom their recommendations may, or may not, go to the Government. In any case, the local bodies will be fettered in the independence of their action by having to consider a number of authorities instead of only *one*, viz., the Local Government, to which the Deputy-Commissioner is the only natural channel.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF BOARDS SHOULD ALWAYS BE IN THE VERNACULAR.

37. I do not see why district officers and Tahsildars should be more than "guides" even in the case of "third class municipalities," and why they should still be responsible to the same extent, as now, for their general efficiency. It is suggested elsewhere that even if they are not immediately efficient the principle of Self-Government is not to be sacrificed to any such consideration. Yet the obligation in this paragraph has a tendency to such a sacrifice. Again, so far from considering that "the proceedings of the boards should be as often as possible in English as in the vernacular," I consider that they should be *only* in the vernacular, so as to be thoroughly understood by the members, and that no remarks should be made by any one of the members at the meetings of the Local Boards in any other language than the vernacular, and that no person should be eligible as a member who does not correctly express himself in the vernacular. The contrary course will lead to confusion and misinterpretation, will play into the hands of the English-knowing members, and will cause either the retirement of the members who do not know English, or their saying "*sat bachan*"* out of politeness to whatever may be

* "Of course," or "you have said truly."

interpreted to them. If, again, *all* that is said is translated, the proceedings will become intolerably lengthy. In my humble opinion, the proceedings should be regularly supplied to the Deputy-Commissioner in the vernacular, and he should then get a full and faithful translation made of them by a competent translator in his own office; as the Local Boards will rarely be able to command or pay for sufficient talent to make such accurate translations.

If a local body exceeded its powers, the remonstrances of the Deputy-Commissioner should never go up to the Lieutenant-Governor without the explanation of the boards, for it may be after all a mere matter of opinion between the two sides. Again, I do not see why a Deputy-Commissioner should not make a "formal proposal in writing" before the board unless he is prepared to move the Government to "execute it authoritatively." To the native mind a proposal on such an underst anding would be tantamount to an order, and this will be another blow against the Self-Government scheme. Advice "in conversation" given by the Deputy-Commissioner will, no doubt, be very valuable, but it has the disadvantage of being vague, and there are many cases in which it would be desirable to make a definite proposal in writing without thereby necessarily committing oneself or the Government to authoritative interference.

PRACTICAL WORKING OF THE SELF-GOVERNMENT SCHEME.

38. I cannot agree that "on examination it will probably appear" that in some parts as well of the province generally as of particular "districts little or nothing can be done directly upon the lines of the Government of India Resolution." There is no part of the Panjab in which, in my humble opinion, Self-Government cannot be introduced, if it be sincerely attempted to do so. I rejoice, therefore, to find that the Lieutenant-Governor seems desirous to create or revive VILLAGE PANCHAYETS. In my humble opinion, no national Self-Government is possible in the Panjab which does not recognize the village panchayet, even if this be not the basis, as I consider it to be, of the practical Self-Government of India and the preservation of Indian society during centuries of good, bad, and indifferent rule. I am not sure that the Lumbardari system was ever strictly hereditary, or that it cannot be combined with a village panchayet.

The A'la lumberdar and Zaildar seem certainly not to be very necessary under a truly representative system, and another source of expenditure may be avoided. So also is the Patwari, where settlements are completed, as the records can be kept by the Clerk of the Panchayet, for which post the village schoolmaster is the most proper person. The following is a rough sketch of the representative system

which will be found to be generally applicable to the province, with, of course, the necessary modifications according to localities :—

I.—*Panchayets in Villages.*

The ordinary constitution of the panchayet would probably be—

- (1) One of the lumberdars (by turn).
- (2) A respectable sahlukar of good family.
- (3) The village priest (Moulvi, Pandit, Bhai, if respected).
- (4) A respected zemindar.
- (5) Another representative *elected* by the village.

The Panchayet to meet ordinarily twice a week (say Mondays and Thursdays) to settle administrative matters and petty civil and criminal cases. In cases of inheritance, marriage, and religious difficulties the Moulvi or Pandit to act as Kazi or Pradhivaka respectively at the sitting of the Panchayet. The village school-master, who shall also be the village post-master, to act as clerk to the Panchayet. All proceedings of the Panchayet to be open to the public. The great object of the Panchayets is the *conciliation* of conflicting parties and interests. The grounds of their decision should be briefly recorded, but, although liable to revision or to inquiry by the magistrate on a complaint of injustice being made, should not be subjected to appeal, as otherwise the main object of the Panchayet, which is “peace” and “settlement” of differences, will be sacrificed to litigation.

II.—*Circle Boards, or Halke ka Majlis,*

should be composed of Circles of say one hundred villages, as the present tehsils are too large and sometimes contain six hundred to seven hundred villages. They are to meet *once* a week (say Tuesdays) for the discussion of administrative and executive purposes affecting the whole Circle. Each village to be entitled to send a representative, preferentially a member of its own Panchayet, to the Circle Board. The Hakim and Baid or other private medical practitioner to be a member of the Circle Board. Each Circle Board to elect or send a representative to

III (a).—*The District Board (Zile ka Majlis).*

To meet once a fortnight (say Wednesdays) to elect permanent or temporary sub-Committees for certain reporting or executive purposes, to discuss matters affecting the district, &c. All Jaghirdars in the district to be members of that board, in addition to any other members that may be appointed by Government. These District Boards to have the general management of schools, dispensaries, and roads, not in municipal towns. Each trade and caste in the non-municipal towns to be entitled to send a *vakil* from the Panchayet of

their own trade or caste (which Panchayets should accordingly be formed, much to the satisfaction of the various sections of the community in the way they think best), for the representation of the wishes and grievances of these trades or castes to the District Board. Such vakil, however, not to be a member of the board.

These District Boards will elect a member each for the Divisional Board, about which more hereafter.

N.B.—Every Jaghirdar is a member of the Circle Board or village Panchayet, situated in the neighbourhood of his residence.

III (b).—*Municipal Committees.*

All non-official members to be nominated by election. The qualification being acknowledged respectability and an income of not less than Rs. 1000 per annum in first class municipalities, 500 per annum in second class municipalities, and 300 rupees in third class municipalities. Missionaries to be eligible by the Christian community or otherwise. A non-official European, provides he speaks the vernacular intelligibly, from the European community (including officials). In other respects, the Municipal Committee to be constituted as now. The various trades or castes being entitled to send a vakil to represent their wishes and grievances to the Municipal Committee or to the District Board. The *District Municipal Committee*, similarly to the District Boards, to be entitled to send a representative to the

IV.—*Divisional Board.*

This board to meet once a month, say on the last Saturday of the month, and to be composed of the Commissioner of the Division, the Deputy-Commissioner of the Sudder Station, the principal Sirdars, Nawabs and Rajahs of the division, and of the representatives of the District Boards and District Municipal Committees of the division. Their functions to hear appeals in important cases (to be defined) from the decisions or course of action of any of the lower boards. Pleaders not to be members of the Divisional Board, as they may have to plead before it. The Divisional Board will also be a consultative body in all matters affecting the division (including political matters) or any question of general interest that may be referred to it by Government. This training to our nobility and other leaders of the people is indispensable, if we wish to identify them with our rule, and to bring them to political maturity. Each Divisional Board to elect a member or to send a representative (non-official) for the

V.—*Provincial Board.*

To meet at Lahore during the cold weather, under the presidency of the Lieut.-Governor, and to be composed as follows :—

(1) Ten representatives of the respective divisions of the Punjab.

(2) Ten officials who may happen to be at Lahore as unpaid members (or the Senate of the Panjab University as now constituted which has had at all events twelve years' experience of educational affairs); the others drawing a sumptuary allowance of Rs. 10 per diem during the period of their stay at Lahore. The charge to be met from the division, if not district, to which the representative belongs; each representative being in direct communication with any board or committee in the division which he represents.

All matters of provincial importance requiring discussion to be placed before the Provincial Board, subject to such rules as may be appointed by the President. The Provincial Board to elect a Vice-President to act as Chairman, but in no other capacity, during the absence of the President.

40. The project asked for from district officers should also show:—

I.—How far the District Committees can be entrusted with the collection of revenue and with the expenditure of such portions as may be determined on in the locality in which it is raised, so as to avoid unnecessary transmission and retransmission of funds, which entail delay and increase of establishment without any great corresponding advantage.

II.—The relation of the various committees and boards among themselves and to the District Committees should, I venture to submit, be somewhat on the principle sketched out in my previous remarks.

(c) The greater the variety in the constitution of the board, provided this variety be in accordance with local variety, the better for the general success of the scheme.

41. IV.—There is no district in which, in my humble opinion, "nothing can be done in the matter of election."

42. As far as possible the members of the present District Committees should be kept on one or the other of the new boards, so as to utilize their experience and encourage their public spirit; but their retention should in some way coincide with the proposed system of representation.

43. In addition to "Commissioners consulting leading natives on "all the principal questions involved," a simple exposition of the measure and neutral questions thereon in the vernacular should be sent direct from the Secretariat to such natives with the request to communicate their answers through the Commissioners of their respective divisions.

I append a rough sketch of a time-table for the meetings of the various boards, which, although not a matter of any great importance, shows how the meetings can be so arranged as not to clash, or as to let everyone, from the Government down to the villager, know when they take place without a special summons which often finds members away or engaged.

	1ST WEEK.	2ND WEEK.	3RD WEEK.	4TH WEEK.
I. Village Panchayets ...	Mondays and Thursdays.	Mondays and Thursdays.	Mondays and Thursdays.	Mondays and Thursdays.
II. Circle Boards	Tuesday.	Tuesday.	Tuesday.	Tuesday.
III. District Board	Wednesday.	Wednesday.
IV. Municipal Committees	Say Fridays.			
V. Divisional Board	Last Saturday
VI. Provincial Board	As may be arranged.			

D.—A NATIVE COUNCIL FOR THE PUNJAUB.

The following questions regarding the advisability of a Native Council for the Punjaub were circulated by me, on behalf of the Anjuman-i-Punjaub, to a large number of members and others whose opinion it was thought would be valuable. Each man was addressed separately. The answers received, with very few exceptions, are eminently favourable to the scheme, and certain suggestions are made which, however crude they may appear to most Europeans, deserve every consideration, and show that the subject of the inquiry and its importance are sufficiently understood by the intelligent portion of the native population.* The more important replies are printed at length, but the names of the writers it has been thought advisable, at all events for the present, not to print, in order not to affect the independence of the opinions that are given, and that are yet expected to come in. Suffice it to say, that the papers contributed emanate from natives of distinction in different parts of the province, and that it is probable that no *official* inquiry, however ably and discreetly conducted, could have obtained an unreserved opinion on such a subject from natives. I trust that, in the rough abstract which I have made for the perusal of Europeans, I have fairly rendered the opinions of the writers.

G. W. LEITNER,

LAHORE, 4th April, 1869.

President, Anjuman-i-Punjaub.

* The questions were, with one exception, addressed to persons unacquainted with English, and the answers may serve to show the capacity of natives of "the old school" for self-government or for participation in government.

P.S.—A few copies of the “rough abstract” in question were distributed by me last year among friends of the cause in England and India. The Anjuman-i-Punjaub have now decided that the inquiry into the advisability of a Native Council for the Punjaub and its results be reprinted in their present form and made generally public.

G. W. LEITNER,

LAHORE, 27th June, 1870.

President.

QUESTIONS BY THE ANJUMAN-I-PUNJAUB.

1. *Is there any necessity for the establishment of a Council for the Punjaub? If so, why? and what are its advantages to either the Government or the people?*

ANSWERS.

DELHI ANJUMAN.—Members would have to be paid to give their time to such a Council; therefore it is better that the existing Anjumans forward their opinion to Government on any Bill that may be under the consideration of the Legislature.

GUJRANWALA ANJUMAN.—As there is an Anjuman at Lahore, with a Law Branch at that station and branches in other cities, this is sufficient, unless the Government wish to derive any special assistance from such a Council, in which case its establishment is advisable.

SIALKOT ANJUMAN.—Such a Council is absolutely necessary, as in the “Supreme Council of India” native interests, especially of this province, are not sufficiently represented. The opinion of the people is unknown, and the Government is, to a great extent, unacquainted with their desires.

R. S. S.—A Council is most necessary in this province for legislation and the easier execution of the laws by the consent of the people.

S. N. C.—Such a Council should be in *London*, and in it ought to sit the representatives of Native States and representatives of known loyalty and ability of the different cities approved by Government.

A. L.—A Council will be very useful. It will discuss matters connected with the welfare or injury of the subjects and the Government, and represent them to Government.

M. H. A.—A Council is necessary both for the welfare of the Government and the more ready execution of laws and regulations.

N. N. A. K.—A Council which represents the people will not only carry weight with it, but also give a popular aspect to Government measures. Laws, however beneficial, are sometimes regarded with distrust, simply because the people have not been consulted; this a Council will remedy.

N. G. M. S.—People are most anxious to let the Government know their wishes, but cannot now do so. This can only be done by a

Council in which their views will be considered. This will make Government more just and the people pleased.

F. S.—Every matter concerning the public welfare and general questions referring to the interests of Government ought to be *decided* by such a Council. If the Government objects, it ought to state its reasons for doing so, and allow the Council to discuss them, and after that to act on mature deliberation.

A. M. K.—Such a Council ought to be in the capital; it will be able to give immense assistance in carrying out the measures of Government, and it will submit to the Government the views of the people as expressed by their representatives.

D. B. N.—A Council is of the greatest necessity to Government and the people, because measures proposed by the one and approved by the other must meet with general approval and success. The policy of Government is to insure unanimity and co-operation between the rulers and the ruled, but this can only be done by the institution of such a Council, able and ready, because supported by the people, to give effect to beneficial measures.

M. S. M.—The great advantage of such a Council is explained in a foot-note—the great difficulty is to find good men for such a body, but it can be overcome by encouraging public assemblies, and ascertaining who are the best men available.

M. C.—The Council ought to be at the capital. It is necessary to establish such a body, as laws are now introduced on which the opinion of the people is not asked. If this were done, laws would be in accordance with the wants and usages of people; *e.g.*, an adulteress used in Sikh times to be punished, but is not now under English rule.

N. B. K.—A Council is very much required, for people have become acquainted with what is for their good; but the members ought to be God-fearing men. The Government sometimes commits wrongs from ignorance of facts, so will the Council, if not carefully composed.

N. B. D.—The Legislative Supreme Council cannot possibly know the feelings of the whole of India. This province wants a Council, for acts are now passed which are adverse to the interests of this province, but to which it is necessary to submit.

M. J. R.—Why should Government fetter its own action by asking for the opinion of the people? It can do now as it likes, and will ever continue to do so. On the contrary, it is much better not to ask or inquire, for inquiry can only show that the people are unable to pay, for instance, certain taxes which, however, Government consider it necessary to levy. If the public policy of this country is to be based

on argument, then an argument which may be considered conclusive by the Government may not be considered equally so by the people. This would be merely creating additional difficulty in the way of carrying out measures. Of course theoretical government, based on the principle that it is instituted to attend to the welfare of the subjects will only too gladly listen to their opinions; but as Government is, after all, only composed of fallible individuals, it is certain that they, with very few exceptions, will not tolerate interference. The British Government, however, has a desire to govern only for the benefit of the people, but it is neither respectful nor safe to offer opinion contrary to that of its "Hákims" (rulers). It is not wise to show the people a means for expressing their views, because they may become unanimous in wanting something which is really bad. It is very much better to strengthen and improve the existing Anjumans, to establish communication between all its branches, and to cultivate the practice of saying what is right, irrespective of favour, social or religious prejudice, and personal advantage. Let each Pergana have an Anjuman composed of the most intelligent zemindars and officials; let that Anjuman report to another Anjuman to be established in each district, which again is to consult with a head Anjuman in each division. Let whatever is considered a fit matter to take up be sent to the Parent Anjuman at the capital, and by it be submitted to Government. Finally, let there be a brotherhood among all members of Anjumans, and the same be secured from collapse by proper arrangements for the collection, the continuance, and the preservation of their funds.

P. N. L.—The proposal is a very good one, but it is premature—(1) because the difficulty of finding able, fearless, learned, impartial, and yet loyal representatives is almost insurmountable; (2) because Government is not likely to pay the proper respect to such a Council under present circumstances. Education in the Punjaub is still in its infancy, and it will be time to canvass for a representative Council when the people become more civilized. Of course, if men who combine the stated qualifications for membership can be found now, Government will itself concede the establishment of such a body. The best thing for the present is that there should be two or three natives sent to represent India in the British Parliament. It will be possible to find a small number of good men from the whole of India: but a long time has yet to elapse before every province, not to speak of every district, can have representatives deserving of the position.

M. K. A.—The masses of India are steeped in ignorance, and those they elect will not be much above their constituents in intellect or honesty.

Several civilized countries have to deplore the power which universal suffrage gives to the vulgar, and attempts are being made to confine the right of voting to those who can intelligently use it. Besides, India has been conquered by the sword, and therefore it is inexpedient and unnecessary to deliberate on public affairs with the conquered. Let Anjumans, Chambers of Commerce, Commercial and Industrial Associations grow all over the country; such bodies will be better than a Council.

P. C. J.—The machinery for a Council is too cumbersome. We have already Anjumans, and we ought to make the most of them. The head Anjuman at Lahore ought to receive suggestions from "division Anjumans," those again from "district Anjumans;" and points deserving of consideration ought to be submitted, with the head Adjuman's opinion, to the Government. Why are Government Acts and Notifications not translated and widely circulated among the people whom they concern? At present the natives are in the dark regarding the *spirit* and *policy* of British laws and government.

P. M. P.—The Anjuman is sufficient for all purposes. Well-organized and with numerous branches, it will always be a correct index to the popular feeling, whilst it can be the best interpreter to the people of beneficial Government measures. Although such bodies have no official character, their opinion, when correct, must in itself carry great weight with it. A Council is as yet premature, but it might be tried, as an experiment, to get the different Anjumans to elect members for some consultive body in, say, the Lahore and Amritsar divisions, and if this measure proves successful, to extend it to other divisions of this province.

P. R. K.—There is no other way for informing the people of what the Government want, or the Government of what the people want, than a Council. Newspapers, and the fact that Government call occasionally for the views of natives, are very useful in their way, but they afford the people neither a sufficient means for expressing their opinion, nor a sufficient guarantee that such opinion will be listened to.

M. A.—Such a Council could best decide what things are beneficial or otherwise for the people of this province.

QUESTION.

2.—*Are the members to be appointed by Government or also with the consent of the people, ratified by the Government? And how is this consent, by either unanimity or majority of votes, to be arrived at?*

ANSWERS.

GUJRANWALA ANJUMAN.—There should be official members and members elected by a majority of votes of the people, as in municipal committees; these latter members to be approved by Government.

SIALKOT ANJUMAN.—The members should be selected by the Government only from among the highest and most competent and honest of the nobility, by the agency of Commissioners and Deputy-Commissioners. At present it would be unwise to leave the election of members to the people.

R. S. S.—It is almost impossible to find good men for such a position, who will be both able and willing to devote their time to public affairs.

S. N. C.—The Anjumans are, for the present, a sufficient means for the expression of native opinion, and from them members for the London Council should be selected.

A. L.—Members to be nominated by the gentry and the public generally, and a selection from amongst those nominated to be made by the Government.

M. H. A.—Members to be appointed by the people, and to be approved by Government.

N. N. A. K.—The Deputy-Commissioner of each district should have the management of these elections. He should choose the best, the most learned and honest of the honorary magistrates or members of Municipal Committee or other Raíses (chiefs or gentlemen). If there are many suitable candidates, recourse should be had to voting by drawings lots; one Hindu and one Mussulman being selected for each district.

N. G. M. S.—Members to be appointed on the unanimity or majority of the electors, who ought to be educated men belonging to the nobility.

F. S.—There ought to be two Councils—one of tradespeople, the other of Raíses; the members of the former to be paid Rs. 100 per mensem, the latter Rs. 300 per mensem. The former to be elected solely by a majority of the people—two to four for every city, of whom half are to be Hindus and the other half Muslims—the latter by the Government, and to be approved by the people.

A. M. K.—Members should be appointed by a majority of votes of the people, and to be approved by Government; the heads of the several communities should be put *au fait* of what is required of a member of Council, and the election should take place accordingly.

D. B. N.—Members to be appointed by the consent of the nobles of

every city ; but the opinion of officials on the election to be taken into account ; election to depend on a majority of votes.

M. S. M.—The members to be elected by the people, and confirmed by Government ; certainly *not to be nominated* by Government, because this would destroy their representative character, and injure their ability to give a ready and voluntary effect to public measures.

M. C.—Members to be elected by the people of the cities, for then alone can they have real influence ; if appointed by Government, the election will be a mere “hukm” (command).

N. B. K.—The appointment of members to depend on the opinion of Government, which is also to make inquiries, both publicly and privately, into their conduct, but is not to listen to the idle reports of enemies.

N. B. D.—Members ought to be appointed by the people, and approved by Government. Written votes should be taken, and a majority should decide.

QUESTION.

3.—*By what means are members, representative of the different classes of the population, to be secured ? How is their impartiality or their devotion to the interests of their constituents to be secured ?*

ANSWERS.

GUJRANWALA ANUMAN.—The answer to Question 3 is developed from a consideration of the answer to Question 2.

SIALKOT ANJUMAN.—Anjumans in every city should inform the local member of their wishes and wants ; and the greatest publicity should be given to the proceedings of the Council ; the selection should be made from men of general experience and trusted honesty, and the Government should watch their proceedings.

A. L.—Members accused of partiality or dishonesty to be liable to dismissal after full inquiry.

M. H. A.—Members ought to be men who, in consequence of having landed property and enjoying a good reputation, are above being led astray by private interests.

N. N. A. K.—It is difficult to get good men. Elections ought to be made with the greatest care, and the conduct of selected members should be watched. Members who are subordinating public to their private interests should be at once dismissed.

N. G. M. S.—There is no necessity for a rule ; because if care is taken to have an intelligent body of electors, they will return a representative man.

F. S.—On questions of commerce and money the opinion of the Lower House to be final; on those of policy, that of the Upper House. The Council ought to be at Lahore, and to be designated the "Punjaub Council," and to appoint its own officers.

A. M. K.—The heads of the different classes of the population are to accompany the election of a member with a written and sealed document, stating that he is their representative.

D. B. N.—The members should possess a general knowledge of public and professional affairs; to be between the ages of thirty and fifty, free from any bodily defect, popular in their cities, and relied upon as men of public spirit and intelligence.

M. S. M.—Care must be taken that the member has no private aims to serve beyond representing his constituents. The mode of electing ought to be by the Deputy-Commissioner calling together the *Raises* and the *Chaudris* of the district, and proceeding to the election of a member of their choice.

M. C.—Only *one* member cannot represent the bigger cities; four or five members are wanted, and they should be elected by the majority of the class of the population to which they belong.

N. B. K.—Men of good family, learning, and piety ought alone to be elected.

QUESTION.

4.—*Are members to be appointed for a certain fixed period, or permanently?*

ANSWERS.

GUJRANWALA ANJUMAN.—The answer to Question 4 is developed from a consideration of the answer to Question 2.

SIALKOT ANJUMAN.—Members ought to be appointed for a period of not less than three years.

S. N. C.—The permanency of the appointment of members is to depend on their work, success, and popularity.

A. L.—Members to be appointed for seven or five years. In case of death or resignation, another member to be nominated.

M. H. A.—Members ought to be appointed provisionally, till, when good men are found, members can be appointed permanently.

N. N. A. K.—A member to be appointed for three years. Complaints should be investigated by the Deputy-Commissioner of the member's district, reported to Commissioner, and well inquired into.

N. G. M. S.—There is no necessity to fix a period for the appointment of a member, but after every three years the people can again be consulted about his continuance.

F. S.—The period of membership to be five years, but the Government and the people to have power to re-elect, or, in case of misconduct of a member, to dismiss him before the expiration of the period.

A. M. K.—A member to be appointed for three years; but the heads of the different classes can have the power of re-electing him.

D. B. N.—Five years to be the period for which a member be elected; the members, if they give satisfaction, to be allowed to be re-elected.

M. S. M.—A good man might object to being appointed only for a time. There is no objection to appoint a member permanently. Members will consider the fixing of a period as a sign of distrust.

M. C.—A member to be elected for two years only, and to be liable to re-election, if he again offer himself, by the consent of the majority of electors.

N. B. K.—Members ought not to be appointed permanently, for this will relieve them from the fear of responsibility. If they misbehave, they are to be displaced by the Government.

N. B. D.—Members ought to be appointed for a fixed period.

QUESTION.

5.—*If constituents are dissatisfied with their member, how is his removal to be effected, and on what grounds is it to be based?*

ANSWERS.

GUJRANWALA ANJUMAN.—The answer to Question 5 is developed from a consideration of the answer to Question 2.

SIALKOT ANJUMAN.—If the actions and opinions of a member are obviously actuated by private motives, and are in opposition to the views, customs, and, above all, interests of the people, the Government is to notice such conduct, and, if necessary, to dismiss the offending member.

A. L.—Constituents being dissatisfied, member to be unseated, after full inquiry.

M. H. A.—The removal of members ought to be vested in Government, and to depend on very mature consideration and *proof* of misconduct.

N. G. M. S.—If complaints are proved to be well founded, the offending member should be dismissed.

F. S.—The fifth question is not answered, except indirectly, in the fourth answer, but F. S. goes on to say that the Lower House ought to be composed of men selected by the different chaudris (headmen) of the trades, &c., who in their turn are to be elected by the people for this especial duty.

A. M. K.—Constituents to submit objections to their member to the Council: if these are proved, the Council to remove him.

D. B. N.—If the constituents are dissatisfied with a member, the Council, at their request to appoint an independent Commission of Inquiry; if that Commission consider the complaints to be well founded, the member is to be removed; but if dissatisfaction proceeds from the ignorance or hatred of constituents the member is to be confirmed.

M. S. M.—If the people are dissatisfied with their representative, they ought to be able to get rid of him; care, however, must be taken that the dismissal is not based on frivolous and unproved grounds. Complaints ought to be thoroughly investigated, and, if proved to be groundless, to be explained to complainants, and to be rejected.

M. C.—If, after a most careful inquiry, it is found that the majority of the electors have a well-founded complaint, the member ought to be dismissed, but not otherwise, as to listen to any frivolous complaints affects the independence of members, which ought to be respected.

N. B. K.—Government ought to inquire into the complaints of constituents, and if these are well founded, to act upon them as it thinks proper.

N. B. D.—The president and members of the Council ought to be able to dismiss any member against whom it is proved that he injures the public welfare.

QUESTION.

6.—*Are the representatives of Native States to be admitted into such a Council?*

ANSWERS.

GUJRANWALA ANJUMAN.—Native States have no knowledge of, or interest in, the public affairs of British India, and should only be represented by the especial wish of Government, as indeed the whole question of a Council should be left to Government.

SIALKOT ANJUMAN.—There is no objection to admit representatives of Native States, if they are intelligent men.

R. S. S.—Some Native States *could* not send agents or representatives, but they might, whenever required, give information on points suggested by the Council.

A. L.—Members from Native States should be admitted upon condition that they join of their own accord.

M. H. A.—If eminent and good men are found among the officials of Native States, they should be admitted.

N. N. A. K.—There is no harm in admitting members from Native States. The Council will have a salutary effect on these States by being a model for their imitation. Besides, there are commercial and other relations between these States and the British territory regarding which such a Council might be able to give useful advice.

N. G. M. S.—Members from other States should certainly be admitted.

A. M. K.—The vakils (agents) of Native States to be members.

D. B. N.—Native States are governed on principles very different from those which affect the subjects of Her Majesty. Representatives of these States, if really elected by the people of those States, might be admitted in "full Councils;" but envoys of the States are not required, and their rulers have not the time to come. The Council derives importance from itself, not from the accession of dignitaries.

M. S. M.—Certainly; the rulers of Native States are fellow-countrymen.

M. C.—It does not matter very much whether representatives from Native States are admitted into the Council or not; their policy and system of government are not based on the same principles as ours.

N. B. K.—Native States, with full powers, ought certainly not to be represented, for they do not consider injustice to be reprehensible, as they practise it themselves. Besides, they will care little for the resolutions and advice of Government.

N. B. D.—All Native States connected with Government should certainly be represented.

REMARKS.

SIALKOT ANJUMAN.—There are very few men in the province who have the means and public spirit to devote their time to such a Council. A Council at Lahore might, perhaps, be able to do it. Local Councils would be little better than the existing panchayets (assembly of the heads of a village, trade, &c.), which are of little use.

N. N. A. K.—The Government is, no doubt, very wise in all it does; but the fact remains that it is a stranger to many of the feelings and wants of the people.

F. S.—The funds for the salaries of the members of Council should be taken from the respective municipal funds, or an increase in municipal taxes should be made. The members of Council ought to be recognized and honoured by Government.

D. B. N.—The Council ought to be at Lahore; to be consulted on affairs affecting the province generally; from bigger cities two members of rank, wealth, ability, and learning are required. The Government to assist towards the measure becoming a success. Hitherto the people have refrained from expressing their real opinion, which results in ignorance of their wants and suspicion of the Government.

M. S. M.—A Council of this sort is of the greatest advantage in identifying the interests of rulers and subjects; laws will not be passed without obtaining first the consent of the people, and this will render their execution easy.

M. C.—Local Councils ought to be under the presidency of native extra-assistant commissioners or tahsildars, and to be in correspondence with the Supreme Provincial Council.

N. B. K.—The difficulty in this country is the differences and hatred between sects. Mohamedans dislike Hindus, are hated in return, and both are despised by Seraogis. Sunnis hate Shiahhs; both dislike Wahabis, and these again object to religious innovators.

N. B. D.—What other means can there be for knowing what the people want? No law can be popular that does not receive the consent of the people. Such a Council will be a great source of strength to the Government, for it will only be too ready to give assistance, knowing that it is backed by the people.

E.—PAPERS ON THE SUBJECT OF VILLAGE PANCHAYETS.

No. 977, dated Allahabad, the 8th November, 1878.

From C. ROBERTSON, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, To THE OFFG. SECRETARY to the Government of India, Home Department.

In reply to your letter No. 1958, dated 22nd October last, I am directed to forward herewith a full translation of the article on the revival of village panchayets which appeared in the *Akhbar-i-Anjuman-i-Panjab* of the 27th September last.

THE REVIVAL OF VILLAGE PANCHAYETS.

[Translation of an article from *Akhbar-i-Anjuman-i-Panjab*, dated 27th Sept., 1878.]

Syad Ahmed Khan Bahadur, c.s.r., Editor of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, has published a leader in his paper of the 7th September, page 290, refuting the arguments of a native of the Panjab for the revival of the village panchayet. The Syad says that the panchayet is an oppressive institution of the dark ages, quite unsuited to the present state of civilization, science and art. He is unquestionably an educated and enlightened gentleman, but his love of Western civilization has produced in him a strong dislike for everything Native, whether it be Native ideas,

associations, arts, or manufactures. He seems to forget that the very same Western enlightenment which has so much influenced him is advocating the revival of such useful institutions. As his eloquence has reached to the Legislative Council and secured for him a seat there, he has given his opinion beforehand, so that it might be taken as that of the educated Native community and have weight in the Council.

We beg to refer the Syad to Section 6 of the Act X of Civil Procedure Code for 1877, Madras. The village panchayets and munsifs have been established all through the Madras Presidency agreeably to this Act. We beg to ask him whether they are doing any real good to the country, whether they are composed of enlightened Europeans, and whether Madras is a portion of India? When they are doing their work satisfactorily in the Madras Presidency, there seems to be no *prima facie* reason why the institution should not succeed in other parts of the country. We don't think that the village munsifs and the members of panchayets in Madras are all well-educated men and thoroughly acquainted with all the laws and regulations in force in the country, but it is not essential that they should have such an elaborate training. They may be intelligent and clever men, and such can easily be found in every part of the country. Some simple rules and regulations can with ease be framed for their guidance. But the technicalities of the law are quite different things from justice. The panchayet can very fairly decide the cases of its own village, as it fully knows the particulars. Syad Ahmed Khan remarks that although the law recognizes the decisions of panchayets as legal, the people hardly resort to them for the settlement of their disputes. The cause of this is that in the present times of freedom and liberty, when even children do not obey their parents, the village headmen have no authority and influence over the inhabitants of the village. On the contrary, they are themselves afraid of *badmashes*. They hear false evidences given in the Courts, but cannot breathe a word. If their authority were restored, the *badmashes* would fear them, and the people would refer their disputes and private quarrels to them for decision. On account of their having no legal authority at present, they are not held in honour by the people.

Syad Ahmed Khan has served as Judge for a long time. We beg to ask him how many intricate cases he has referred to private panchayets and commissions every year for decision? If the working of the civil courts of a Presidency were well considered, more than one-fourth of all the cases decided might be referred to panchayets for final decision. One would have many occasions to admire the penetration of such panchayet in intricate cases. We ask Syad Ahmed Khan whether the following kinds of cases would not be better disposed of by a village panchayet than by a court of justice :—

- (1) In a village which is situated 25 miles from the nearest Court of Justice, A's cattle injure B's crops. Now B has to seize the cattle and take them to the nearest police-station, which is, say, 10 miles distant from the village. He then goes to the Court, which is 25 miles distant from his house, to sue for damages, pays the Court fee and the expenses of the witnesses, and his work also suffers during his absence from home. In spite of all this trouble and expense he may not be able to produce sufficient evidence for the conviction of the accused, and, therefore, the accused may be acquitted by the Court.
- (2) In the same village a quarrel takes place between A and B, and A slightly hurts B. B goes to the Court, which is 25 miles from the village, and

submits a complaint, charging A with causing simple hurt. Four or five witnesses, both for the prosecution and defence, are then summoned to the Court. Their dispute is ultimately settled by private compromise. Thus they are unnecessarily put to a great deal of trouble and expense, which would be avoided if there were a legally-constituted panchayet in the village.

- (3) In the same village A borrows Rs. 2 from B, and afterwards does not repay the amount to the creditor. B applies to the Court for the recovery of his money, and the debtor and the creditor are each put to an expense of Rs. 5 before the latter obtains a decree for the amount against the former.
- (4) In the same village A holds a decree for Rs. 2 against B, and applies to the Court for the execution of the decree. But before the decree is executed and B's property attached, B pays the amount of the decree to A. A, the decree-holder, must then go to the Court to certify to the fact of the payment. Suppose he is unable to walk 25 miles, he will have to hire a carriage. If there were a village panchayet, he might certify the payment to it.

We do not mean that every caste, such as barbers, potters, kahars, &c., should have their different panchayets. In every large village or town a panchayet should be established, consisting of two, three, five or more respectable and influential persons of the village or town. When there are three or four small villages at a short distance from one another, a panchayet should be established in one of those villages, and its jurisdiction should extend over all of them. A few simple and short rules should be prescribed for the guidance of such panchayets. They might be entrusted with powers to hear and decide the following kinds of cases :—

- (1) Suits for damages for injury done to crops, trees, &c., provided the damages do not exceed Rs. 20 ;
- (2) Suits for the recovery of debts up to Rs. 20 ;
- (3) Disputes connected with marriage or caste matters ;
- (4) Disputes arising from the closing of thoroughfares ;
- (5) Cases of causing slight hurt ;
- (6) Cases of abusive language ; and
- (7) Offences against sanitary rules.

In all cases the complaints submitted to the panchayet might be on plain paper, and copies of judgments might also be granted by it on plain paper to the contending parties. If any party is dissatisfied with its decision, he might appeal to the regular Court of Justice within one month after the date of the judgment delivered by the panchayet. Otherwise the decision of the panchayet would be considered final and taken as that of a legally-constituted Court. In cases of marriage, relation and caste disputes, the panchayet would have simply to ascertain whether the party made outcast is really guilty. If the wronged party has a valid claim for damages thus sustained, he might then be authorized to file his regular suit in the Civil Court, if it be beyond the panchayet's power to decide. The panchayet might also be entrusted with the duties of village marriage registrar. In every Civil suit in which the value of the claim is above one rupee, the panchayet should levy a fee of eight annas from the party who loses the case. When a Court executes a decree for money against the judgment-debtor and the judgment-debtor pays the amount of decree to the decree-holder, the decree-holder should certify the payment to the village panchayet. In Criminal cases the

panchayet might fine up to Rupees five. It might be also entrusted with the duty of exercising a check over the village *badmashes*.

If such village panchayets be established all over the country by the Government, the people will be spared a great deal of inconvenience and expense, and the Courts will be greatly relieved from much miscellaneous work and from the trouble of deciding numerous petty cases.

The Local Government might be authorized to increase the power of such panchayets whose working is found quite satisfactory, and to decrease the powers of others where the working proves irregular and unsatisfactory in any way.

By the constitution of such panchayets, the influence of the village headmen will be legally established, the *badmashes* will be kept from mischief, petty disputes and quarrels will be amicably and fairly settled, and Courts will not be overworked with petty cases, as is the case at present.

(True translation.)

KASHI NATH, Officiating Government Reporter.

The 2nd November, 1878.

No. 6—269.

From C. BERNARD, Esq., c.s.i., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, To THE SECRETARY to the Government of the Panjab.

HOME DEPARTMENT, JUDICIAL, FORT WILLIAM, the 6th March, 1879.

SIR,—I am directed to forward copy of the papers marginally noted concerning

Despatches from the Secretary of State, Nos. 4 and 68 of the 26th December, 1878.

Letter of the Government of Bombay, No. 222, dated the 26th February, 1879, and Enclos.

the measures which are to be taken for the relief of Ryots in parts of the Deccan, and to request that the Governor-General in Council may be informed whether his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor considers that it would be expedient in the Panjab to invest the Courts of various grades with a summary jurisdiction; and when they possess such a jurisdiction, whether it should be extended; and if so, within what limits and subject to what restrictions as to the subject-matter of the suits.

2. The subject is one on which it would be desirable to obtain the opinions, not only of some of the ablest European judicial and revenue officers, but of intelligent Natives, official and non-official.

3. The Governor-General in Council would also wish to be informed whether, in the opinion of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor there are any districts, or parts of districts, in the Panjab, in which the plan of an assessment of the land revenue varying with the season, to which reference is made in the 16th paragraph of my letter of the 26th ultimo, to the Government of Bombay, might be adopted with advantage.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) C. BERNARD, Officiating Secretary to the Government of India.

P.S.—Copy of a suggestive article recently published in a vernacular newspaper of Northern India touching the further utilization of the panchayet system is appended for information.—(Vide Appendix.)

No. 1222.

From LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Secretary to Government, Panjab, To THE PRESIDENT, Anjuman-i-Panjab, Lahore.

HOME.

Dated LAHORE, April 2nd, 1879.

SIR,—I am directed to forward herewith, for the favour of your opinion, copy

of a letter, No. 6—269, dated 6th ultimo, from the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, together with copy of its enclosures, inquiring whether it is considered expedient in the Panjab to invest the Courts of various grades with a summary jurisdiction in the interests of the Agriculturists, and whether there are any tracts in this Province in which a system of adopting the land revenue to the variations of the season should be adopted on account of the scanty rain-fall.

2. In regard to the first question, the Hon. the Lieutenant-Governor desires that your reply should contain all particulars necessary for the practical working of any scheme which may be proposed. His Honour would therefore like the following points noticed in your reply, and any others which may seem necessary:—

- (1) Constitution of Court: whether the Judge should sit singly or as a bench; qualification of Judge.
- (2) Remuneration of Judges.
- (3) Limits, local and pecuniary, of jurisdiction, and classes of suits cognizable.
- (4) Order to be appealable or final, subject to review by court which passed it.
- (5) Should suitors be compelled to resort to local courts, if their suits are cognizable in them, or should option of carrying them to higher courts of first instance be allowed?
- (6) Under what conditions of inspection should courts work?
- (7) How should decrees be enforced?
- (8) What fees should be levied on plaintiffs?

I have, &c.,

H. C. FANSHAW,

For Secretary to Government, Panjab.

From Dr. G. W. LEITNER, Barrister-at-Law, President of the Anjuman-i-Panjab, To
LEPEL H. GRIFFIN, Esq., c.s., Secretary to the Government, Punjab.

Dated LAHORE, 7th June, 1879.

In reply to your No. 1222 of 2nd April, 1879, I have the honour to submit a few copies for such distribution as may be thought desirable by the Panjab Government, of a pamphlet containing the opinions of various members of the Anjuman-i-Panjab on the several points mentioned in your letter under reply. Some well-attended meetings have been held and its subject-matter has been ventilated in recent numbers of our Journal, with the view of eliciting opinions and suggestions. It will be found that there is a large preponderance of native opinion in favour of the establishment of panchayets, a fact which was fully established in the discussions at the meetings to which I have referred. Several important modifications of the principle have, however, been suggested by various members, in order to bring it into harmony with the present state of things. Should His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor desire a continuation of the discussion, it would be advisable, as our immediate material has already been sufficiently drawn upon, to supply the Anjuman with further material, such as information regarding the working of the panchayet system in Madras and of a similar principle in Ceylon, the complaints against panchayets, as administered in former times, which are supposed to exist among the archives of the Chief Court of this Province, the opinions of civil officers, who, like Mr. Brandreth, in his Report of 1871, have advocated the establishment of panchayets and accounts of the experience of villages, which, like Molana in the Kangra District, are said to settle their disputes by panchayets. Furnished with such material, the Anjuman might be able to elicit further informa-

tion from non-official and other sources regarding the previous working of the panchayet system which might possess both historical and legal value. In the meanwhile, a hope is expressed that the Government may find that the suggestions made in the "collection of opinions" herewith forwarded are not altogether without value. For facility of reference an index to these opinions is annexed.

It may not be altogether unnecessary to add, that, although I have always taken an interest in the question, I am, at present, merely acting as to transmitting medium of the opinion of the Anjuman, my own opinion, were it desirable to submit it, and which I have not the necessary leisure to put into proper form, agreeing neither with the popular nor the legal preconceptions on the subject.

I have, &c., &c., G. W. LEITNER, Barrister-at-Law,
President, Anjuman-i-Punjab.

List of Members of the Anjuman-i-Panjab who have expressed opinions on one or more of the points referred to in the letter from the Panjab Government to the address of the President of the Anjuman-i-Panjab of 2nd April, 1879. No. 1222.

(Here follows Index to Urdu pamphlet containing opinions of 21 Members.)

It will be observed that the opinions are fairly representative of various sections of the Native community; Raisers, Editors of Newspapers, Pleaders, Officials and other Natives, educated either according to the Oriental or the English system.

The following official communication may be interesting :—

"The Deccan Ryots Relief Act has been considered by the Secretary of State in Council, who, in reply to the Government of India's despatch on the subject, expresses his opinion that it fairly carries out the principles laid down in his despatch to the Government of Bombay of 26th December, 1878, and therefore accords his assent to it. With regard to the subject-matter of Chapter VI of the Bill, Lord Cranbrook remarks, that he considers that conciliation can only be properly carried out by a functionary familiar with legal procedure and having some authority. In France, where the system has met with success, the conciliator is the ordinary '*Juge de Paix*' sitting in his own Court. His Lordship further remarks that it is within the scope of Sec. 38 to nominate the local judges, as far as practicable, the conciliator in each case, and he presumes this course will be adopted by those entrusted with the carrying out of the provisions of the Act."

F.—FINAL RESOLUTION OF THE PUNJAB GOVERNMENT ON LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE PUNJAB.

From W. M. YOUNG, Esq., SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB, to the
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT.
(No. 1777A.)

September 7, 1882.

With reference to Government of India, Home Department Resolution No. 17—747—59, dated 18th May last, I am desired to forward herewith, for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council, a copy of Punjab Government Resolution No. 1777 of this day's date, on the subject of local self-government.

RESOLUTION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB, No. 1777.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1882.

READ—

Resolution of the Government of India, in the Home Department No. $\frac{17}{747-59}$, dated the 18th May, 1882, explaining generally the manner in which the Governor-General in Council desires the principle of local self-government to be applied throughout British India outside the Presidency Towns.

Circulates Government of India.—Resolution of May.

RESOLUTION.—The Resolution read above is herewith circulated for the information and guidance of Deputy-Commissioners and Commissioners, who are invited to submit proposals for the adoption, in the different Districts and Divisions, of administrative measures to be framed, in accordance with the remarks about to be made, for the purpose of giving effect, in the Punjab, to the policy and instructions of the Government of India.

Previous cause of the Correspondence.

2. The observations of the Governor-General in Council recite the material points in the recent financial correspondence between the Local and Supreme Governments. It was intended that further developments of local responsibility and local administrative control should follow, as a consequence, upon the introduction of the new schemes for extending the decentralization of finance which are now in operation in the various Provinces. In October last, Local Governments were therefore addressed in regard to the readjustments of liability and resources which might be considered or effected as between Provincial and Local Funds, and, incidentally, opinions were expressed by the Government of India touching the character and functions of the local bodies about to be entrusted with extended powers. Some of these opinions have now been modified in the direction of greater liberality after considering the schemes for promoting local self-government prepared in several Provinces. The Punjab Government did not draw up any such scheme; for although Sir Robert Egerton cordially accepted the general principles of the instructions of October, he desired, at the close of his term of office, to leave to his successor the initiation of measures which must necessarily involve considerable changes in the provincial administration.

Summary of Government of India Orders.

3. Amongst the cardinal principles enunciated by the Government of India, it was laid down that, within appropriate limits, local bodies should be allowed much larger powers than they now enjoy, and that the respective powers of such bodies and of the Government should be distinctly defined. It is explained that the extension of local self-government has not, as its immediate object, improved administrative efficiency. It is chiefly desired "as an instrument of political and popular education." Some failures are to be expected; success is to be attained by patiently nurturing the growth of small political institutions. If it be said that the mass of the people is indifferent to public affairs, it is replied that intelligence and public spirit are spreading, and should be utilized. The officers of Government in all Departments complain of overwork; and the true remedy is to awaken or foster

a capacity for self-help amongst the people. This principle has not yet had a fair trial; and the Government of India now wishes to make a substantial, though cautious, advance in this direction. Accordingly the Government of India has traced, in general outline, the measures to be taken towards this end by Local Governments, both as regards the constitution of municipal and district boards, and manner of control over them to be retained or exercised by Government.

The Lieutenant-Governor's Views of the Policy of the Resolution.

4. The whole policy expressed in the Resolution above summarized is frankly and cordially accepted by the Lieutenant-Governor. It is, in his judgment, conceived in a wise and liberal spirit; and he relies on the officers of the Punjab Commission to endeavour earnestly to carry it out wherever local circumstances are not prohibitory. No doubt the country is, in some places, riper for self-government than in others, and everywhere caution must be observed. But to suppose that local self-government can only be fitly and successfully developed where the country is already fully prepared for it, would be to ignore the history of local institutions in the Punjab under British rule, and to miss the most prominent and important aim which the Government now has in view. The object of the whole proceeding is, the Lieutenant-Governor repeats, to educate the people to manage their own affairs. At the outset it is admitted that, amongst the native community, the various capacities requisite in public life are as yet, for the most part, immature; it is precisely for this reason that a period of public and political training is necessary; and it is on this ground that the interposition and action of Government are justified. The great value of the policy prescribed by the Government of India seems to the Lieutenant-Governor to be its tendency to create and develop the capacity for self-help. Placed in new positions of responsibility, the representatives of the people on the local boards will, it is to be hoped, become, year by year, more intelligent, independent, and self-reliant. But these advantages can only be secured if the local bodies are trusted. Their power and their responsibilities must alike be real; in proportion as there is any pretence or illusion about either the one or the other, there is an obvious possibility that the whole undertaking may degenerate into an officious dislocation of existing arrangements. No such lamentable miscarriage of a singularly generous and enlightened policy must be suffered to occur in the Punjab. This risk escaped, the Government, anticipating, by wise reforms, those legitimate aspirations which always gain substance and strength with the progress of instruction and civilization, and providing a career for the people, to open and expand with their growing intelligence and education, will unquestionably avoid many of the dangers inherent in foreign rule. This is, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, the great merit of the new policy. Briefly, he thinks that the scheme, in so far as it can be successfully worked, will tend to elevate the duties and enlarge the official character of Government officers; to educate the country in public life; to relieve the Government of the odium of petty interferences and small unpopular acts; to diminish any sense of antagonism between the people and the Government; to promote better knowledge of the real aims of the governing body; to popularize taxation; to open useful, if not exalted, careers to the native gentry; and to interest leading men in the progress of undertakings and the stability of institutions in which they will now for the first time have a personal and prominent share. Thus the political education of the people will directly subserve some of the chief political purposes of the Government.

History of Local Self-Government in the Punjab.

5. In considering what steps should now be taken to extend local self-government in the Punjab, it is of much consequence to bear in mind the present character and past growth of District and Municipal Committee in the Province. In 1849 the Board of Administration introduced the *chaukidari* police system in all towns and villages, the cost of the establishment being distributed into shares or cesses and levied from house proprietors. The task of assessment was entrusted to influential residents; but complaints of inequality arose, and it was found that exemptions were made on personal grounds or from sectarian motives, and the rich were generally spared at the expense of the lower classes. For this and other reasons the house-tax was very unpopular; and in 1850, on the suggestion of the citizens, it was abandoned for the system of town duties, then introduced on trial in Lahore and Amritsar. This system was indigenous to the country; for it was founded on the *chungi* collections of the Sikhs so modified as to remove, almost entirely all objectionable restrictions upon trade. It was shortly after extended to the Mooltan, Jhelum and Sutlej States Divisions. The surplus over and above the funds so raised for police was expended on municipal improvements. The income was vested in the Magistrate of the district as trustee, but the expenditure was regulated by the advice of a Committee elected by the townsmen. Such, under British rule in the Punjab, was the beginning of local self-government—a term which first appears in the literature of the Province in paragraph 389 of the first Punjab Administration Report for the years 1849 to 1851. The development of this system during the first ten or twelve years of British administration had no connection with the action taken in isolated cases under the Towns Improvements Act, XXVI of 1850. During this period Simla and Bhiwani were the only places in which that Act was applied. In 1860, in reply to a request of the Government of India for information regarding the system of municipal government and its successes, the Officiating Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Roberts, reported that the local funds were managed by a Committee of European officials and other members, European and Native. Practically, however, few natives, except Extra Assistant Commissioners, were appointed, though in some instances the town *panches* were associated with the Committees. But these bodies were not, properly speaking, municipal corporations, as they had no power of taxation, but simply originated and executed local improvements under the supervision of the Divisional Commissioner. The funds expended by them were usually collected by an octroi duty, and, in some cases, by a house-tax, though the latter impost was not popular. The entire local funds of the Province were under the administrative control of the Judicial Commissioner.

Proceedings of 1861-62.—Opinion of Sir Donald McLeod.

6. In submitting this report to the Government of India the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Robert Montgomery, expressed the opinion that, so far as the system of municipal government had been tried, it had worked well. The Government of India then urged greater efforts for its more complete establishment, ascribing the apathy of the people to a greater distrust of novelties and to misconceptions of the objects of Government and the ends of local taxation. Means were suggested by which these difficulties might be overcome; the formation of representative bodies in large towns was advised; and it was required both that personal influence should be used to create a desire for municipal administration, and that due attention should be paid to the ascertained wishes of local communities. On this Resolution

Sir Donald McLeod, then Financial Commissioner, recorded a memorandum which appears to the Lieutenant-Governor to breathe the very spirit of the present instructions of the Government of India. Sir Donald McLeod observed—

“The genius of the natives is essentially suited for municipal organization, and as rightly observed by the Supreme Government, municipal institutions are as well adapted to the natives of India as those of England. This municipal organization still exists in every trade, and did exist, previous to our rule, in every village. But their experiences have been of a microscopic character. In social matters the representative element was almost the only regulating principle. In the affairs of State none was ordinarily allowed to interfere. Hence municipal organizations among the natives have been limited to small sections of society having common interests.

“This should be borne in mind in all our endeavours to turn municipal organization to account. We should commence with the atoms of which native society is composed and work upwards in such a manner as they may themselves suggest, or as may be found most congenial to them.

“To give the people a real interest in the arrangements contemplated, it is absolutely essential that they should be given a large discretion in the matter of expenditure. To work any practical use out of the people, they should not continue ever to be treated as children or imbeciles.”

Sir Donald McLeod then proceeded to advise the following plan :—

“First determine whether the organization shall be the castes, *muhallas*, trades, or any other sub-divisions of the people or locality. Then direct such sub-division to appoint its own managing Committee, and entrust it to the entire executive management of such duties as it may be determined to make over; and lastly, leave it entirely to these bodies to elect a general or central Committee of management, investing this body with real authority and discretion to manage and control all general questions and to exercise a supervision over the subordinate Committees. No Government official ought to be associated with them in their deliberations, or allowed to interfere in any way with their nomination, though each member, when elected, should be recognized, and, if necessary, invested by the local representatives of Government; and these should also have the power of declaring ineligible, or removing from the post any one of bad character, or convicted of any serious offences.

“In short, the municipal body should be, as regards essentials, really independent, so far as the interference of our officials goes.

“If, however, we begin as we have been wont to do, from the top instead of from the bottom,—*i.e.*, nominate a council of men of rank and consideration, and then descend to details as best we may,—the whole thing will become a sham and a delusion: and still more so if we associate our own officers with them in their proceedings, whether deliberative or executive.”

Commissioners of Divisions were consulted; and the result was the issue of Sir Robert Montgomery's well-known Resolution of 1862, directing the establishment of municipalities in towns near the head-quarters of districts. The Committees were to be composed of representatives of the townspeople elected annually by delegates or *panchayats* of trades and callings. They were to exercise a real control over conservancy, drainage, water-supply, the construction of local buildings, lighting, the regulation of bazaars, and the like. No new local taxes were to be imposed, nor were the rates to be increased, without their consent. The District Officer was to be their friend and adviser; he was to encourage them to act boldly and independently

and he was not to overrule their designs without previous reference to the Commissioner of the Division.

Operation of the Orders of 1862.

7. The evidence as to the practical operation of these orders during the next five years is scanty and inconclusive; and it seems doubtful whether they were carried into full effect by local officers. In December, 1862, the Judicial Commissioner, Cust, reported the results in thirty-five towns where Committees had been elected in various ways, by wards, by castes, by the suffrages of income-tax payers divided into trades, by householders, by delegates from different classes, by headmen of tribes, by an electoral body chosen by license-tax payers, by general consent, by sects, and by acclamation at an assembly of citizens. In one town out of thirty-five, viz., Bannu, the Committee was nominated by the District Officer, and consisted of the panch associated with chaudris; in another, Peshawar, some members were similarly nominated and others elected. Mr. Cust was sceptical of the success of these new municipalities, decrying their capacity for administrative undertakings, and evidently holding, that, in many places, the measure had been incautious and premature. In the Administration Report of the year, however, it was stated that the members of the Committees had worked together harmoniously and had transacted business with zeal, spirit, and efficiency. "Hitherto," it was said, "the experiment of thus enfranchizing a people full of energy and good-feeling has been attended with nought but the happiest result, and properly supervized and fostered, there is no reason to fear danger to the duty politic from this plan of leaving the people to manage their own affairs for themselves."

Municipal Committees from 1862 to 1872.

8. In 1863 a brief further report was submitted from the Amritsar Division which had been omitted from the previous returns. At Amritsar the Committee was elected by delegates from constituencies formed by circles of trades and tribes. The citizens were satisfied with the result of the polling, and the Committee was said to have worked well. In 1864 there were Committees in forty-nine towns, the members in twenty-eight towns being elected. In 1866 doubts were felt as to the legality of the octroi tax in several parts of the Province; and in 1867 an Act was passed to remove uncertainty as to the legal constitution of the existing Municipal Committees and to empower the Local Government to extend the system and to define the relations between the Government and the Municipalities. Immediately afterwards rules were issued largely importing the official element into the Committees. It was further laid down that the manner of appointment of members would vary according to the circumstances of each town. "Ordinarily," it was said, "a system of appointment by careful selection and nomination will be preferred to one of popular election; but whether the mode adopted for appointing non-official members of Municipal Committees be that of nomination or election, the object kept in view will be the same, viz., to secure a fair representation of the interests of the people in all parts of the town." It is very remarkable that these orders, entirely at variance though they were with the views expressed by Sir Donald McLeod when Financial Commissioner, five years earlier, were issued during his Lieutenant-Governorship. No record has been traced explaining the grounds for this change of policy, and some further observations will be made below on this part of the subject generally. As some of the provisions of the Act of 1867 were of a temporary character, it was so

framed as to expire in five years. The rules remained in force till 1872, when they were revised under the orders of Sir Henry Dadies, who considered that the proportion of officials upon the Committees was unduly large, the administrative officials such as the Commissioners and several Inspectors General being thereafter excluded from the municipal bodies.

Visit of Lord Mayo to Lahore.

9. Before this, at the close of Sir Donald McLeod's administration, the Viceroy, Lord Mayo, visited Lahore, and on a public occasion testified to the progress which had been made in municipal government in the Province during Sir Donald's tenure of office in the following words :—

“When he entered office only three or four towns in the Province were provided with written bye-laws and regularly constituted Municipal Committees. I am, however, now told there are upwards of 100 towns endowed in some shape or other with the means of self-government, and I do say that any man who has succeeded in establishing municipal institutions, which have always been in every country in the world the basis of civil government and the first germ of civilization, is entitled to the highest praise.”

Elective representation had by this time almost died out of the country; and this was the inevitable consequence of the rule laid down in 1867, prescribing that ordinarily a system of appointment by careful selection was to be preferred.

Municipal Committees from 1872 to the present time.

10. In 1872, Act XV of 1867 was continued for a year; and in the next year the present law, Act IV of 1873, was passed. The rules made under that enactment, and issued in Circular No. 31 of the 23rd May, 1874, are in force at the present time. It was observed that the system of appointing members from amongst the leading citizens of towns or recognized representatives of class interests was generally in force, and it was said that this method of nomination would be found better suited to the circumstances of the towns of the Punjab, and more in accordance with the feelings and habits of the people, than a system of appointment by popular election. At the same time readiness was expressed to sanction a system of election wherever there might be a *bonâ fide* desire for it on the part of the people, and a reasonable prospect of the privilege of voting being intelligently and honestly exercised. The position of the Deputy-Commissioner, and generally of the officers of Government, in relation to the Committees stood practically as defined by the successive orders of 1867 and 1872; and the distribution of municipalities into first, second, and third class bodies was continued. The annual reports show that municipalities have worked satisfactorily, and in the summary of the Report for 1880-81 the following observations occur :—

“The growth of the municipal system in the Punjab is one of the most interesting features in the development of the country. The municipalities in existence during the year were 195 in number, and contained a population of two million inhabitants, or more than one-tenth of the whole population of the Province. Nothing has done so much to develop the capabilities of self-government in the people as the municipal system, and nowhere have public improvements been carried on so vigorously or with such good effect as in the towns where the system prevails.”

This testimony affords a great encouragement in considering the prospects of the present scheme. It was further said that on the whole the funds entrusted to

the Committees had been loyally and usefully administered, and that the authority delegated to the municipal bodies had had the best results, not only in promoting the welfare of the town population, but also in engendering cordiality and sympathy between the officers of the Government and the people. This consequence, in the Lieutenant-Governor's judgment, could hardly fail to ensue; and he believes that it will follow in a more marked degree upon an expansion of the system. In one respect it was noted that the results had been disappointing. The system of elective representation was pronounced to have proved a complete failure, partly, it was believed, from want of interest in the voters, and partly from the reluctance of candidates to enter the lists in a competition. In time it was thought interest would be awakened. Finally, Sir Robert Egerton recorded that "whatever drawbacks there might be to the introduction of the elective system of representation in the important centres of the Province, the Municipalities afford ample evidence of a growing capacity for administration and of steadily increasing popularity."

History of District Committees.

11. The District Committees have had a shorter, a less varied, but an equally promising history. Act XX of 1871 (the Punjab Local Rates Act) empowered the Lieutenant-Governor to appoint Committees in each district for the purpose of determining the manner in which the rates should be applied. In accordance with the rules framed under that enactment, Committees, consisting of official and non-official members, have been formed in all districts. The Deputy-Commissioner is President, and, in his absence, the senior Assistant-Commissioner presides. The non-official members are appointed by the nomination Deputy-Commissioner, subject to the veto of the Commissioner and the sanction of the Local Government. The powers of the Committees which ordinarily meet at the headquarters of districts are generally assimilated to those of the second-class Municipal Committees. Year after year the annual reports show that these Committees have proved most useful and popular institutions. As an illustration of the better understanding between Government and the people which the extension of local self-government may be expected to promote, it is interesting to observe a statement in the annual Report for 1873-74 to the effect that any dissatisfaction which might have existed at the time when local rates were first levied had died away, the people perceiving that the funds were expended for their benefit, and that they had a voice in determining works to which they were applied. Sir Henry Davies considered the establishment of these bodies to be essentially a wise and liberal measure; and in the Report for 1880-81 the interest taken by the District Committees in the administration of funds placed at their disposal for district purposes was noted as indicative of advance in intelligence and full of promise for the future.

The same continued.

12. Previously, in 1878, Act V of that year had been passed for the purpose of enhancing the local rates in order to defray expenditure on famine relief and prevention; but this legislation effected no change in the functions and constitution of District Committees. In February, 1879, it was decided that the budgets of these Committees should be regulated exclusively by the estimated income of the year, their balances being thus withdrawn from their control and held in reserve to deal with unforeseen contingencies of a more serious character than could be met out of the small sums set apart yearly for the purpose. However necessary this

restriction may have been under the pressure of considerable financial embarrassment and in view of possible difficulty and distress, it must obviously have deprived the Committees of many incentives both to economy and enterprise. Against the recurrence of such a measure local boards should for the future be secured.

Character of local self-government by District and Municipal Committees as now constituted.

13. The District Committees have thus only been in existence for eleven years. Their present constitution necessitates a vast preponderance of official influence, and, no doubt, the system is capable of great extension on the lines now laid down by the Government of India. The measure, so far as it has been carried out, has been attended with success, but the advantage reaped has been that of counsel to District Officers rather than increase of self-reliance on the part of the people. It is, however, the latter, the creation of a spirit of self-help at which the Government chiefly aims. Municipal Committees have, perhaps, evinced a greater independence. It is probable they form a better school for individual character, and it is certain that they have done much useful work and accomplished many public improvements. The proportion of unofficial members in Municipal Committees is slightly greater than in District Committees, being two-fifths in the former case as against one-third in the latter, or as six to five; but, unlike the District Committees, the Municipal Committees, subject to the sanction of Government, exercise powers of taxation, and can frame their own bye-laws. If their authority has been less real and their initiative is generally less original than is to be desired, the circumstance is probably due, not so much to any defect in the law as to the operation of the existing rules relating to their constitution. Officials, as a consequence of their position, carry weight in such Committees out of all proportion to their numbers. So long as the president is a high officer, or, indeed, any officer of Government, the acts of a Municipal Committee tend to be his rather than theirs.

Resolution of 18th May, 1882.

14. The two most important points in the Government of India resolution of the 18th May, 1882, relate to—

- (1) The position of the officers of Government in relation to local bodies; and
- (2) The application of the principle of election in this country.

Bearing these points in mind, the Lieutenant-Governor will now proceed to explain in what manner he would propose to adapt to the Punjab the general observations of the Government of India in the 9th and following paragraphs of the resolution of May.

Formation of Local Boards.

15. As regards the constitution of local bodies, one important novelty contemplated is the institution of local or sub-divisional boards as distinguished from the District Committees which are now appointed for districts at large and usually assemble, as already said, at district headquarters. In the composition of the new local boards, no less than in the mode of appointing Town and District Committees, uniformity of system is no more essential in the Punjab than it is in India generally. On the contrary, a diversity in the arrangements will be presumptive proof that the varying requirements of different localities have not been disre-

garded. No scheme of local self-government in the Punjab should overlook the fact that the population is made up of tribes, castes, and village communities. Representation should be the representation of existing organic groups of the people. How far the endeavours now to be made can proceed in the various districts seems to the Lieutenant-Governor to be, to a great extent, a question of *personnel*. Men must be found who are willing and at least fairly competent, under judicious guidance, to do the work of local self-government; and the operation of the scheme must be widened or contracted according as such men are numerous or the reverse. The limited amount of funds which will be at the disposal of local boards no doubt constitutes a difficulty. The largest amount provided in the District Fund Budget for 1881-82 for any district is less than Rs. 1,20,000 on either side of the account: and the smallest allotment, omitting that of the Simla district, does not exceed Rs. 12,000. If such sums are divided amongst the tahsils, the sub-divisional boards will have little scope for expenditure. But this objection is not conclusive. The same difficulty was felt on the first establishment of Municipal Committees, and as time goes on the resources placed at the disposal of local boards will increase. Moreover, funds will be largely localized under the financial orders issued in a separate resolution of this date. The Lieutenant-Governor therefore thinks the local boards should be established throughout the Province, except where (1) there are not enough people fit to be members; (2) the funds at the disposal of the board would be so insignificant as to make its proceedings ineffectual; or (3) political circumstances exist which would render any such change in present arrangements really a matter of risk. In places where local boards are not proposed, local officers should clearly state how far all or any of these conditions obtain.

Jurisdiction of Local Boards.

16. Probably these local or rural boards will sometimes be nothing more or less than local sections of existing district boards formed by splitting up District Committees according to localities. But it will be preferable, wherever practicable, to constitute separate local boards with distinct functions. In determining the local limits of the jurisdiction of rural boards, it will ordinarily be most convenient to follow the several administrative sub-divisions of the district; but this need not be an invariable rule. The test should be not symmetry or uniformity, but the possibility of forming a useful board. The *ilāka*, or circle of the rural board, might follow the limits occupied by a particular tribe or by several tribes which could act well together; or it might coincide with one or more old parganas not yet forgotten by the people; or it might even be based neither upon the ethnical distribution of the people nor upon traditions, but merely upon convenience, regard being had to the places of residence of the men who form the board, and the distance they would have to travel to a meeting. The obligatory principle is that stated in the resolution of the Government of India—viz., that the jurisdiction of such boards must be so limited in area as to ensure both local knowledge and local interest on the part of each of the members.

Size of Local Boards.

17. What should be the size of these new local bodies is a question of some consequence. The Municipal Act lays down that the Committee shall consist of not less than five members; and the smallest number permissible in the case of District Committees is six. The Lieutenant-Governor would take five as a minimum

in all cases for local bodies of all descriptions. It is always easy to enlarge a Committee if good men are forthcoming for membership. On the other hand, small Committees are more amenable to reason, more easily replaced, and more keenly alive to their own responsibilities. The Lieutenant-Governor considers that the Committees, tahsil, district and municipal, should ordinarily be limited in number to what is necessary for the due representation of the chief classes of the community in each locality or town; but on this point also full consideration must be given to local circumstances, and there is no objection to the formation of large Committees if they give promise of efficient working.

Classification of Local Bodies.

18. The powers of the rural boards would necessarily vary. Some boards might have the full powers of a district board except as regards general questions and questions affecting more than one local body. Others, again, would require personal guidance for some time. But all, even with the most limited powers, would be useful to the Deputy-Commissioner as a consultative body on questions both of local and of general interest. It would thus be expedient to make a classification of local boards; and the Lieutenant-Governor would here follow the principle of assimilating the law and rules for town, rural, and district boards. He would have first, second, and third class local bodies; and it seems to him probable that the same, or nearly the same, gradation of authority would do for all, whether municipal or rural. Municipalities and rural boards of the lower grades would be advanced to the higher from time to time as they showed themselves fit for it.

Relations of different Local Bodies and control of those of the lowest class.

19. Municipal Committees will, as observed by the Government of India, continue to be the local boards for municipal areas. The mutual relations of the various local bodies will require careful consideration and settlement. For localities where the whole scheme might be introduced in its full extent, the Lieutenant-Governor believes that the principle laid down in paragraph 10 of the Government of India Resolution, namely, that sub-divisional boards should work independently, and that common affairs should be determined by periodical District Committees at which delegates from time to time selected from the local boards should attend, is the right one. But in many places this state of things would be distant as yet, and more diversified arrangements must be adopted. Everywhere the present classification of Municipal Committees should be maintained. The Lieutenant-Governor would make second class local boards and municipalities tolerably independent, and he thinks that the control which it may be necessary to maintain over any boards or municipalities not yet prepared for the ordinary amount of independence would probably be better exercised by the Deputy-Commissioner than by the District Committee. That Committee should deal with questions affecting (a) the district as a whole, or (b) more than one sub-division, or (c) arising where municipal or local interests may overlap or conflict. In respect to these matters the local boards and municipalities would, subject to the general control of the Local Government, be bound to obey the instructions and carry out the decisions of the District Committees. The district boards thus having to deal mainly with matters of common interest should be largely composed of delegates both from tahsil boards or municipalities or groups of municipalities. In some cases where the new Local Boards are merely sub-committees of existing District Boards, the latter might themselves

define what powers the newly-formed bodies should exercise. On all these points, however, as well as in regard to the best system for controlling third class municipalities, the Lieutenant-Governor would be glad to be favoured with an expression of the opinions of Commissioners of Divisions.

Proportion of Non-Official Members.—Term of Office.

20. In regard to the rules proposed in the 12th paragraph of the Government of India Resolution, the Lieutenant-Governor considers that in Committees of all kinds, district, tahsil, and municipal, no less than two-thirds of the members should be private persons other than officers of Government, unless officers of Government be chosen by election. Non-official members and officials when elected should hold office for three years. They might be eligible to serve again after the expiry of that period; or perhaps better after the lapse of three years from the time vacating office.

The Principle of Election.—Its alleged failure.

Its essential connection with the Scheme.

21. Coming now to the question of election, and having regard to the alleged failure of the system in the Punjab, the Lieutenant-Governor finds no evidence to prove that the principle has ever been fairly tried in this Province for any sufficient length of time. Even supposing that the experiment was allowed a due chance of success between 1862 and 1867—and the probabilities of the case, vague as they are, seem to point the other way—five years are a mere span in the education of a people; while it is manifest that, since 1867, the idea of election has been officially discouraged by the provisions of the municipal rules. It is true that Government has often announced its readiness to grant an elective system to any municipality which might really desire it; but the rules have not been altered; and, looking to the necessary bent of official influence under their guidance, it is difficult to see how, under the circumstances, a wish for a system of election should be fostered or find free expression. It may be frankly admitted that even within the limits of the narrow experience gained, abuses have not been unknown. There are instances on record of the purchase of votes, and of at least one other form of corruption. On one occasion, in 1862, a rebel, whose property had been confiscated, and who had been dismissed from public employ, was returned as chairman of a municipality. Apathy has been exhibited in recording votes and in candidature. At a recent election in Amritsar only seventeen persons presented themselves to fill sixteen vacancies, and one of them had been convicted of a criminal offence. In the election of zaildars there have been absolute absurdities, numbers of village headmen either refusing to vote or manfully voting for themselves. But acknowledging all this, the Lieutenant-Governor is prepared to face some failures and occasional scandals rather than to assume that the people do not possess, and cannot acquire, the intelligence, honesty, and capacity to choose representatives for themselves. It has always been an avowed object in connection with the local institutions of the Province to secure a fair representation of all classes. Sir Charles Aitchison thinks that by mere nomination this object cannot be attained. Individuals of different classes may no doubt by selection be brought together on a board. But there is no guarantee that such individuals really represent the feelings and interest of the classes concerned unless they are elected by them, not chosen

for them by external authority. One weakness of a Government situated like the British Government in India is its want of detailed knowledge of class interests and class feelings. Enough is not known of these subjects to ensure a real representation, in the proper sense of the term, if the supposed representatives are simply appointed by the Government. The Lieutenant-Governor therefore deprecates any too hasty assumption that election, which in one form or another is not altogether unfamiliar to native ideas, will fail. It is not too much to say that the final and complete success of the whole project of local self-government depends in the main upon the introduction of the principle of election. In no other way can the power and responsibility of local undertakings be shifted from officials on to the people. So long as a majority of the members of the boards are nominated by Government they will be regarded in the light of servants of Government, and the distinction between the acts of the Government and the local authorities will not be generally recognized, or, in fact, very generally exist. The Lieutenant-Governor would therefore express his cordial approval of the policy of the Government of India in this matter, and he hopes that the officers of the Punjab Commission will endeavour earnestly to carry it out wherever practicable.

Conditions under which the Principle of Election to be tried.

22. But Sir Charles Aitchison would not attempt to introduce election where the people are decidedly opposed to it, for there he would not regard the measure as a practicable one. No doubt there are some parts of the country in which resort to election would be attended with greater difficulties than others. On the frontier, for example, where personal animosities are high, an election might be a signal for disturbance or outrage. But even there the constant references made by District Officers to tribal assemblies, or jirgas, show that it may be practicable to utilize the popular element. In backward parts, also, or in kasbas or small towns, election in any elaborate form could only be exceptionally introduced. This is fully recognized by the Government of India, who desire, however, that in these backward places and small towns election in some form that harmonizes with native ideas should be encouraged, and that in one form or another it should be introduced in considerable towns. The Lieutenant-Governor believes that there is nothing to prevent this in the circumstances of the country or the genius of the people, whether Hindus, Sikhs, or Mohamedans, to all of whom, in connection with their own social or religious affairs, election in some form or another is familiar. If the qualifications for voting and for holding office are carefully framed, and care is taken that good men, or traditional representatives of the people, are not deterred from coming forward, he has no doubt that election will eventually succeed, provided always that Sir Donald McLeod's caution is observed, and the boards are vested with real power and responsibility, and are not overshadowed by a preponderance of official influence. The remarks in the Administration Report of 1862-63 show that at the outset the elective system was both successful and popular. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks it could not but fail under the discouragement afterwards thrown upon it.

Election should be introduced where efficient constituents can be formed.

23. Though popular opposition to the introduction of election would be a good reason for not attempting it, the existence, on the other hand, of a wish for it on the part of the people is not an essential consideration, however gratifying it may be as

an augury of probable success. The question whether measures should be taken to introduce the elective system or not should depend upon the probability of forming efficient constituencies, and the marks which denote a proper constituency are, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, two, viz., (1) capacity for giving an honest and intelligent vote; and (2) a substantial interest in the proceedings of the local bodies based on payment of the rates or taxes which they administer. In the abstract, apart from political considerations and class antagonism, voting qualifications, His Honour believes, are merely rules for giving effect to these principles, and for regulating the weight to be given to capacities and interests of varying kinds and degrees. It is to be hoped that in course of time electors will come to entertain a due sense of the honour and responsibility of their functions. Everything should be done to bring this about by investing elections with some little ceremonial, by encouraging constituents to attend the meetings of the boards which should generally be public, and by holding annual assemblies at which the proceedings of the year should be published and made known and honours and rewards distributed.

Methods of Election.

24. In a few large towns and advanced districts it may perhaps be practicable at once to fix upon a property or taxation qualification for voting and holding office, or to determine those qualifications in some other way by general definitions. In such places it is not unlikely that the election arrangements may more or less follow the English model. A high qualification for the electors will generally be needed at first in order to get the best man returned: and this is contemplated in the Government of India Resolution. The object is to get together a sufficient body of representative men who will act reasonably and fairly in the matter. Elsewhere and in backward parts of the country the arrangements must necessarily be much less elaborate both in respect to the manner of election and to qualifications. Different modes of election may be tried varying from show of hands or public acclamation, which although a loose method has from its publicity certain advantages in preventing corruption and abuses, up to formal registration of votes. For some places the old system, which was reported to have worked satisfactorily in Amritsar, might be suitable, whereby delegates or panchayats were selected in the first instance by the castes and trades, and the votes of the artificial constituencies, thus formed recorded. In others the Deputy-Commissioner might consider the various castes, tribes, and trade guilds in the town or district, and decide how many electors each should be invited to appoint, accepting those who satisfied the conditions of capacity and interest. Or, if this would lead to the nomination of electors for the purpose of naming particular candidates, he might, on exceptional occasions, himself directly appoint the electors. Again, in other places, it might be best to nominate five or six candidates for each seat on the board, leaving the electors to choose the nominee most acceptable to them. In none of these cases would the successful candidates be mere Government nominees. Eventually in these places also the method of election may be systematized and the qualifications for voting and for holding office may be laid down in general definitions. But in the infancy of the system great latitude must be allowed throughout in devising measures for obtaining a really popular representation, both in large towns and in parts of the country more or less advanced. The leading men of the various social groups should be freely consulted, and any preference expressed by any organic group for any particular principle to guide either the selection of electors or the return of candidates should be carefully considered and effect given to it as far as possible. Wherever the elective system in any

form is adopted, it is essential that the district authorities should in no case show a preference for any one duly qualified candidate over another.

Control over Local Bodies to be exercised from without.—Official Members.

25. It remains to consider what control the Government must continue to exercise over the local bodies. The Lieutenant-Governor is convinced that the ultimate aim of the Government of India Resolution is the right one, and that we must endeavour gradually to effect a complete separation between the functions of the official body and those of the local and town boards. The principle to be kept in view is check, not dictation. On this point paragraph 17 of the Resolution seems to the Lieutenant-Governor to be almost exhaustive. Doubtless the official members of all the boards, not exceeding one-third in each, should be nominated by Government, and should ordinarily be the same for tahsil boards and minor Municipal Committees. Generally the Deputy-Commissioner would not be on any board, unless the board was so weak and uninstructed as to be unable to move alone; and in the latter case it would be understood that the connection would be severed so soon as the board showed capacity for independence. Any board in which an official might be President should be empowered to appoint by election a Vice-President who, in the absence of the President, would exercise his authority. Such Vice-President should ordinarily not be an official. As a general rule Tahsildars might be on District Committees, but the Lieutenant-Governor would prefer that they should not be members of rural or town boards. Like Deputy-Commissioners they should be required, in respect to rural boards, to act from without. There may be difficulty, however, under these circumstances, in employing tahsil establishments in the execution of local works; and this is a point which will have to be carefully considered.

District Officer to be the channel of communication.

26. All boards, rural, municipal, and district, might communicate with each other direct; but the District Officer should be the channel of communication between all local, district, and town boards on the one hand, and all Departments of Government on the other.

Powers of District Staff.

27. The powers of District Officers and Tahsildars must be most carefully regulated. This part of the subject presents much difficulty, and will require very careful treatment. The detailed suggestions of Commissioners are invited, and the Lieutenant-Governor will merely here sketch in, a tentative manner, the proposals he would be disposed to make.

Powers of Local Bodies.

28. The powers of local bodies may be considered under the heads of (a) taxation; (b) check by the Local Government or its officers; (c) expenditure on works; (d) expenditure on establishments; (e) miscellaneous. Each of these matters will be considered in order.

Taxation.

29. (a.) *Taxation.*—Under this head the Lieutenant-Governor sees no reason to suppose that the existing law and rules will not suffice as regards municipal bodies.

It is true that considerable modification of the Municipal Act will probably be required, and that contemporary Indian legislation on the subject must be examined with the object of selecting all that is best for embodiment in a new Act for the Province. The same will be done in regard to the Local Rates Act; but so far as municipalities are concerned, this process will not affect taxation. The questions of equalizing municipal taxation and of preventing its interference with trade will be dealt with separately; and on these points some amendment of the rules may be requisite. But this matter is distinct from the subject of the present orders.

The Same.

30. In accordance with paragraph 21 of the Government of India Resolution, the Lieutenant-Governor considers that it will be right to confer on local and district boards power of taxation analagous to those exercised by Municipal Committees. Such powers should be confined to district boards and first-class rural boards. It is proposed to consolidate all the local rates (namely, those under Act V of 1878 and road, school, and dâk cesses) into one impost to be levied at a maximum percentage on the annual value of land, both the maximum and minimum of this percentage being fixed by law. District boards and first-class rural boards might be empowered to declare the percentage which the consolidated local rate should bear to the annual value for a year, or two years or a term of years as might be thought proper, subject to sanction, in each case, by the Local Government. As the dâk, road, and school cesses would have been fixed for a term of settlement, a sum equal to their proceeds should be set apart for expenditure on the objects for which they are levied during that period; and until its expiry the district board would have no authority to revise this arrangement.

Exercise of Control.

31. (b.) *Check by the Local Government and its officers.*—In order to facilitate the separation of official and popular agency, Section 17 of the Municipal Act* should, for the present at least, be retained; and the Lieutenant-Governor would also extend it so as to cover the case of all local bodies. Moreover power should be taken (1) for the absolute supersession of rural or district boards and of Municipal Committees; and (2) without the suspension of the general functions of the local body, for the performance, under the special sanction of the Local Government, of particular duties at the cost of the board, but by officials, when the board, after remonstrance, had failed to discharge them. No board should be absolutely suspended without the sanction of the Government of India. The Lieutenant-Governor would make this proviso in order to foster a sense of self-reliance. It is to be hoped, however, that District Officers will at the outset be patient with such shortcomings of the boards as are naturally to be expected in the infancy of the movement, and may not be due to wilful neglect or misuse of power; and that they will exhaust the powers of advice and check which are vested in them before recommending severer measures which should not be had recourse to unless really demanded in the public interests. Whenever the Lieutenant-Governor is advised to resort to extreme measures, the recommendation should invariably be accompanied with an explanation from the board, which they should be allowed full opportunity of making.

* Section 17.—“The Local Government may, by order, suspend or limit all or any or the powers of any Committee, and may also cancel any of their proceedings, rules, or bye-laws, and remit or reduce any tax which they have imposed.”

Expenditure on Works.

32. (c.) *Expenditure on works.*—Rules might be laid down similar to those now in force for first, second, and third class municipalities, and extended to first, second, and third class boards. The powers of first class local bodies would be raised. The quorum might perhaps be three for third class bodies, and five or more for first and second class bodies. The number should be larger for district bodies, and the point might perhaps be best settled by a bye-law to be approved by the Local Government. The requirement of the present rules that one or more of the quorum must be an *ex-officio* member should be omitted.

On Establishments.

33. (d.) *Expenditure on Establishments.*—The recent Financial Resolution, No. 2078, dated 30th June, 1882, gives local authorities plenary authority in this matter, subject to legislative restrictions and special reservations made by the Government of India. For first and second class bodies some modification of the rules proposed in Bengal might be suitable, viz. :—

- (i.) Department Public Works' salaries and absentee allowances should not exceed 20 per cent. of the income available for the Department Public Works' expenditure during the year.
- (ii.) No new appointment on Rs. 200 a month or more should be created without the sanction of the Commissioner. On this head the Accountant-General and other authorities must be consulted.

Powers of third class bodies.

34. The proceedings of third-class bodies should be fully reported to the Deputy-Commissioner within three days of the meetings. The Deputy-Commissioner would carefully supervise them and assist the boards with his advice, pointing out what might be wrong, and suggesting improvements; but he would not overrule or disallow the proceedings except for important reasons and in exceptional cases, to be duly reported to the Commissioner.

General principles of administration to be observed by local bodies.

35. The existing rule No. 29 for District Committees binding them to observe the general principles which Government has approved in the several Departments of the administration should be retained and applied to all local bodies; and probably all the illustrations to that rule, including illustration (d), which precludes a Committee from creating a new grade of officers or from increasing or diminishing the pay of officials in any existing grade without the sanction of Government should continue in operation. These general principles should be explained in simple language in the vernacular, and the system of accounts and audit should also be made as simple as possible. On this subject the Accountant-General should advise.

Loans.—Alienations of property.—Interposition in certain cases.—Obligatory expenditure.—Prohibited reductions.

36. (e.) *Miscellaneous.*—Loans and, as already said, taxation should be subject to the sanction of Government. In the case of the alienation of movable property vested in local bodies the sanction of the Commissioner should be required where

the value of the property exceeded a fixed amount. The sanction of the Local Government should be required for the alienation of immovable property or money invested in the public funds. Without suspending the ordinary powers of the local body in other respects the Deputy-Commissioner should be authorized to interpose and regulate matters affecting the public peace. Some portions of the income of each local body should be classed as obligatory expenditure, and proposals are specially invited on this point. Probably no general rule is possible. Subject to the final sanction of the Commissioner or the Local Government, each body should make its own scheme of obligatory expenditure, which, when once sanctioned, should be binding till modified with the sanction of equal authority. It would be necessary to prohibit reduction of establishment in certain cases, and here the present rule No. 28 for District Committees appears suitable. Under this rule such committees have no power to abolish any existing school, dispensary, or other institution without reference to the head of the Department concerned. The principle might be applied in the case of all local bodies—town, rural, or other, the reference being made of course through the Deputy-Commissioner in each case, and not direct to the Department concerned.

Chairman to be elected as a rule.—Relations of local officers to local bodies.

37. Wherever possible each local body should elect its own Chairman. Ordinarily the District Officers and the Tahsildars, unless in the exceptional cases referred to in paragraph 25, should be the guide of the local bodies, acting always as outside advisers and critics, and would still be responsible for their general efficiency. These officers should be regularly supplied with the recorded proceedings of the boards, which in the case of rural boards of the lower grades at least would usually be in the vernacular; but, as often as possible, the proceedings should be in English as well as in the vernacular; and whether in the vernacular, in English, or in both, they should always be in such detail as to render scrutiny and check, which should be promptly and thoroughly applied, effective guarantees for a satisfactory course of conduct. When a local body exceeded its powers or failed to perform its duties, the Deputy-Commissioner of his own motion or on the report by the Tahsildar, as the case might be, should forthwith direct the attention of the board to the matter. If such remonstrances should remain unheeded, the power which the Lieutenant-Governor proposes to reserve would fully enable the authorities to deal with the case. The initiative in projects should ordinarily come from the boards; but Deputy-Commissioners would more freely and frequently offer formal suggestions to third class bodies than to others. In the case of first and second class bodies, the Deputy-Commissioners would usually, in conversation and by unofficial advice, induce members to bring forward useful schemes of their own motion.

Measures to promote self-government in certain districts or parts of districts not prepared for the full scheme.—Village unions.—Village panchayats.

38. On examination it may perhaps appear that in some parts as well of the Province generally as of particular districts little can be done directly upon the lines of the Government of India Resolution. In such cases there are still plans for consideration, which, if adopted, would fall in well with the general principles of the scheme. Thus, for example, where villages were too small for constitution as municipalities they might, if the inhabitants were of the same tribe, and would work well together, here and there be combined into unions to which the municipal

law might be extended. Again, the Lieutenant-Governor would be glad if the Commissioners would consider and report whether anything can be done in the way of creating or reviving village councils or panchayats. It may be that such councils have ceased to exist, and have been superseded by the lambardari system, which, from its hereditary character, is necessarily not of a representative type. Still there might be an advantage in giving some formal and legal recognition to the institution of the village panchayats where such could be formed with any benefit, and could be entrusted with any definite public functions. Such a measure would at least tend to train up men who would be capable of serving on the more important rural or town boards of the district. In districts where none or few members of the District Committees could be delegated from town or rural boards, it would be proper, nevertheless, to examine the question whether all or a certain proportion of the non-official members could not be returned from one part of the district or another by election.

Possibly in some divisions of the Province the rural boards may be strong enough to divide among them nearly all the duties, other than questions of mutual interest, which devolve upon the District Committees. In such cases there may be little or nothing left for District Committees to do, and the expediency of substituting a Divisional Committee in their place may be considered.

Form of reports now required.

39. The reports which District Officers should frame in compliance with this Resolution should take the form of a project for the introduction of the scheme in each district. No project must be carried out until it has been sanctioned by Government, and this rule must be strictly observed.

Classification of Districts as regards Local Boards.

40. The results would show districts in the following categories:—

I.—Districts where nothing can be done in the way of forming rural boards.

Here the extension of the principle of local self-government would be affected by general rules raising the powers of District Committees and first class Municipal Committees; by general proceedings about to be taken for the purpose of further localizing finance; by forming village unions of villages of the same caste, to be constituted as petty municipalities; and possibly also by reviving, in some way, the village council or panchayat.

II.—Districts where it would be possible to form local sub-committees of the district board to work locally. The relations between the sub-committees and the general committee would be set out in the Deputy-Commissioner's project in detail. This might usually be determined by the general committee.

III.—Districts where one or more rural boards could be formed, either for tahsils or for paganas; or tracts occupied by similar tribes or the like. If only one such board could be formed in some particular tahsil or tract, the Deputy-Commissioner should not be deterred from proposing to form it by the resulting diversity in district arrangements.

IV.—Districts throughout which the scheme of rural boards could be introduced in its integrity, i.e., every part of the district outside the municipal towns would be parcelled out so as to fall within the jurisdiction of one rural board or another.

Classification of Districts as regards the principles of election.

41. So far the reports would deal only with the formation of the boards or other local bodies. The question of election should be treated separately, and the report should show—

- I.—Districts where the system of election should be introduced or extended in one or more municipal towns.
- II.—Districts where the system might be applied in the formation of one or more rural boards.
- III.—Districts where some of the members of the District Committee might be elected.
- IV.—Districts where nothing can be done in the matter of election.

Further particulars to be entered in the Reports.

42. The reports should describe carefully the existing organization of the District Committee. A list of members should be annexed showing their caste, tribe or occupation and religion, and specifying the quarter of the district in which each lives. It should be stated how far the present District Committee might be said to be representative of the ethnical elements of the population, *i.e.*, the chief castes and tribes of the different classes connected with agriculture and of the well-marked local divisions of the district. Any tendency of the work of the committee to fall into the hands of men living at, or near, the headquarters of the district should be noted in the report.

Free expression of opinion invited.

43. The Lieutenant-Governor invites a full and free expression of the opinions of Commissioners upon all the details which will be necessary to give effect to the main outlines of the schemes. Commissioners should carefully consult leading natives on all the principle questions involved, and should endeavour to the utmost to get the Government policy carried out both fully and in a way most acceptable to the people. The task imposed by these orders on Deputy-Commissioners is one demanding much administrative skill and intimate knowledge of their districts and of the people. The Lieutenant-Governor is confident that both Divisional and District Officers, will ably respond to this request for their cordial help in this important matter, and that they will spare no pains to devise schemes likely to work in practice and to conduce to the real progress of the country.

If Commissioners have any suggestions to make on questions of principle, it is requested that they may be submitted not later than 30th November. Longer time will be needed for the preparation of the detailed district reports. The Lieutenant-Governor would be glad if the latter could reach him by 28th February, 1883, at latest. Commissioners need not wait till all the reports from the district of their divisions are received, but may send them up separately from time to time as they come in, with such remarks and recommendations as may seem necessary. Indeed, there will be a distinct advantage in this course.

ORDER.—Ordered, that copy of the above Resolution be forwarded to all Heads of Departments for information, and to all Commissioners and Deputy-Commissioners for consideration and report with reference to paragraph 43.

Also, that it be published in *The Punjab Government Gazette*.

From A. MACKENZIE, Esq., SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

(No. 1477.)

SIMLA, 19th September, 1882.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1777A, dated the 7th instant, forwarding copy of a Resolution recorded by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor on the subject of the extension of the system of local self-government in the Punjab.

2. In reply, I am requested to convey the thanks of the Government of India to Sir C. Aitchison for this excellent resolution, which shows a thorough grasp of the policy of the Government on the question, and a cordial desire to give effect thereto. His Excellency the Governor-General in Council will await with interest the result of the reference made by the Lieutenant-Governor to his local officers for the practical development of the scheme so ably sketched out by the Local Government.

PUNJAB MUNICIPAL COMMISSIONERS' ELECTION RULES.*

(FRAMED UNDER SECTION 6 OF ACT IV OF 1873.)

AMRITSAR ELECTION RULES.*

1. Franchise qualifications :—

I.—All persons exercising any learned profession, such as—

Pundits and mullahs, in charge of shrines or other religious institutions.

Doctors and hakims.

Pleaders.

Editors.

School-masters, &c., &c.

II.—All persons carrying on any trade or business on their own account, or as agents for others, at certain fixed premises the rental value of which is not less than Rs. 24 per annum.

III.—All persons in Government or other employ in receipt of monthly salaries of not less than Rs. 15, and all persons drawing pensions from Government of a similar value.

IV.—All persons owning land paying revenue to Government, or specially exempted from payment of revenue, residing within municipal limits.

V.—All persons in fixed occupancy of premises rented at Rs. 24 per annum or more.

2. Candidates must have the same qualifications as the electors, and must reside on own property either in land or houses, within city limits.

3. The rights of all persons claiming to vote under paragraph 1 (II) and (V) may be verified by a reference to the registered house property in the Municipal Office.

4. A register of all persons mentioned in paragraph 1 (I), (III) and (IV) who

* These rules appear to have worked badly at Murree owing to the European house-agents exercising a great influence amongst the native community. "They are said to be more devoted to their own interests than to those of the public" (see No. 300, dated Lahore, September 5, 1881, from Mr. W. M. Young, Secretary to the Panjab Government to the Government of India).

claim the right to vote shall be prepared in the Municipal Office as soon as possible after the passing of these rules.

5. The register of votes shall be revised by the Secretary to the Municipal Committee. Notice of such revision shall be given three months before the date fixed for the following election, so as to admit of applications from persons claiming the right to vote being received and considered. No application shall be rejected, except by the President, whose order shall be final.

6. All persons qualified to vote under these rules shall be furnished with a ticket containing the following particulars :—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No.	Name.	Parentage.	Caste.	Trade or Profession.	Residence.	No. of Division.

These tickets shall not be transferable, and shall only be used at the next election after issue.

7. Election shall be held every second year, on such dates as the President may fix, between the 15th October and 15th November.

8. Members returned by election shall hold their seats for two years, and shall be eligible for re-election on the expiry of that period.

9. The twelve divisions of the city shall, for the purposes of election, be grouped into four divisions, each of which group will have voting tickets of a colour different from the others. The President shall fix the day or days on which tickets of a particular colour or colours will be taken at the polling station.

10. The President shall fix the locality for the polling station, the manner in which the votes are to be taken and recorded, and appoint officers to overlook, receive, and record the votes.

11. Immediately after the close of the poll, a return shall be prepared by the officers appointed to record the votes, and submitted to the President. In this list the names of candidates will be placed according to the number of votes recorded, the candidate with the highest number standing first.

12. No election of a candidate to be considered valid, unless a minimum of 200 votes be recorded.

13. On proof that any candidate has purchased tickets, intimidated voters, or disobeyed any order issued by the President relating to the election, whether before or after the election, his name shall be struck off the list of candidates.

ELECTION OF EUROPEAN MEMBERS OF THE LAHORE MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE.

The following rules have received the sanction of Government, and are published for general information :—

I.—Those only to be entitled to vote who are—

1st. Europeans or Eurasians resident during the previous six months within the Municipal bounds, excluding the city.

2nd. Who are of age.

3rd. Who either pay land-tax to the municipality, or not less than Rs. 20 a month house rent, or receive *ex-officio* gratis quarters of that value, or are in the receipt of not less than Rs. 75 a month salary.

- II.—The qualification of candidates to be the same.
- III.—Everyone wishing to vote is required to register his name and address in a book to be kept by the Secretary to the Municipal Committee, not less than ten days before the date of election. Candidates will send in their names by the same date, and these will be published for general information not less than a week before that date.
- IV.—Voting papers giving the names of the Candidates will be issued to such names and addresses three days before, and must be returned to Secretary, Municipal Committee, by 4 p.m. on the day of election.
- V.—In the event of an equal number of votes being given for two candidates, President of Municipal Committee to have a casting vote.
- VI.—The same officer will decide all questions as to qualifications of voters or candidates, subject to an appeal to Commissioner, whose orders will be final.

The election under the above rules will take place on Monday, the 6th November, 1876, when two members will be elected. Parties wishing to vote should communicate with the undersigned, either in person or by letter, before 25th October, 1876, on which date the register of votes will be closed. Applications should contain the grounds upon which persons make their claim to be entitled to vote. The names of candidates should be sent in by the same date, either by the candidates themselves or by any two qualified voters. In the latter case the proposers will be required to state that they have ascertained from the candidate his willingness to be put to nomination.

Further instructions will be issued with the voting papers.

CONDITIONS OF QUALIFICATIONS FOR NATIVE MEMBERS OF THE LAHORE MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE.*

The Members for the city wards and extra-mural bazaars are appointed by election, the electors being :—

- (1.) All persons exercising any learned professions.
- (2.) All persons carrying on any trade or business on their own account, or as agents for others at certain fixed premises, the rental value of which is not less than Rs. 24 per annum.
- (3.) All persons in the service of Government or in the receipt of salaries or pensions of more than Rs. 7 per mensem from Government.
- (4.) All persons owning land paying revenue to Government, or especially exempted from payment of revenue, residing within the city.
- (5.) All persons in fixed occupation of premises rented at Rs. 24 per annum or more.

The candidates must have the same qualifications as the electors, and must reside or own property either in land or houses within the wards they represent.

* These rules worked well "at Lahore as regards the election of the native members, but the European community here, as at Dalhousie and Dharmasala, do not appear to appreciate the privilege conferred and it was found necessary this year to nominate a person to represent European interests" (see No. 300 of Panjab Government, September 5, 1881).

G.—PAPERS CONNECTED WITH THE HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PANJAB.

EXTRACT FROM FIRST CALENDAR OF THE PANJAB UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.

INTRODUCTION.

In January, 1865, a Society called the Anjaman-i-Punjab was founded at Lahore (by Dr. G. W. Leitner). Its object was at its first meeting declared to be two-fold:—

1. The revival of ancient Oriental learning.
2. The diffusion of useful knowledge among all classes of the native community, through the medium of the vernacular.

During the first year of its existence the Anjaman was most energetic in its efforts to effect these objects.

A free public library and reading-room were opened and a large number of books had been obtained within the first few months, and most of the vernacular, and one or two English newspapers were taken in. Papers were read and discussions held on a variety of topics, and a public lecturer was appointed for the purpose, it was stated, of "popularizing" the operations of the Society.

An Educational Committee was named to encourage the translation of works of literature and science into the vernacular and the dissemination of knowledge generally. This Committee at once proceeded to consider the question of founding, what it was proposed to call, an Oriental University.

A Medical Committee was formed with the object of instituting a comparison of the native and European systems of medicine and of improving the knowledge and practice of Hakims and Bédés.

The Society numbered no less than two hundred members at the close of the year, and had already progressed so far as to issue a prospectus of examinations* to be held in Oriental languages and literature.

In June, 1865, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor addressed a letter to the Director of Public Instruction† (by whom it was circulated throughout the Department) to the effect that in His Honour's opinion the time had arrived when the Educational Department of the Punjab should take some decided steps towards the creation or extension of a vernacular literature. He referred to the labours of Syud Ahmed, and others in this direction, and considered that it was incumbent on the Punjab Government to take a prominent lead in a matter so intimately connected with the future progress of the Indian nation. His Honour continued as follows:—

"With the extension of English education the facilities for transfusing into the languages of the country the knowledge, literature, and science of the west, have vastly increased. But it seems pretty certain that, unless some specific action be taken on our part, and some really effective stimulus applied, the process will be carried on at a rate much less rapid than is desirable, and in some sense necessary, if we would do justice to the position in which the Ruler of events has seen fit to place us here.

"His Honour will be glad, therefore, to be favoured with such suggestions on this subject as may occur to you, after communicating with others interested in such subjects, and capable of advising; and I am to add that, limited as is the amount at our disposal for educational purposes, His Honour nevertheless considers it indis-

* Appendix, A. I.

† Appendix, A. II.

pensable that a portion of this be yearly set apart for the prosecution of this most important work, and will be quite prepared to devote to it as large a sum as you may be disposed to recommend." Paragraph 65 of the despatch of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India says:—"The Government schools and colleges, whether high or low, should be regarded not as permanent institutions but only as means for generating a desire and demand for education, and as models meanwhile for imitation by private institutions. In proportion as the demand for education, in any given locality is generated, and as private institutions spring up and flourish, all possible aid and encouragement should be afforded to them; and the Government, in place of using its power and resources to compete with private parties, should rather contract and circumscribe its own measures of direct education, and so shape its measures as to pave the way for the ultimate abolition of its own schools."

Dr. Leitner, to whom the circular had been sent officially, as Principal of the Lahore Government College, brought it before the Anjuman-i-Punjab (as he doubted the Educational Department taking any action on it) in connection with the scheme of founding an Oriental University, which he had discussed with Mr. (now Sir) Lepel Griffin.

The following are some of the most important Papers connected with the history and success of the:—

LAHORE, SUBSEQUENTLY PANJAB, UNIVERSITY.

PAPER I.

*Dr. Leitner's Appeal to the Raieses of Lahore at a meeting specially convened by a resolution of the Anjuman-i-Panjab, in the first week of August, 1865.**

Oh Raieses, &c., &c.,

The subject which I have to bring to your notice to-day is of the greatest importance to yourselves, the Government and the people of this country.

It is a great honour to me that you have favoured me with your presence at this meeting, which I hope will be in the annals of this country, an illustrious and noteworthy gathering. Give me your best attention and be sure that you are giving it to one who is not only a friend of the people of India, but who is also deeply anxious to be accepted into the friendship of every one of you.

Before we touch upon the main point which has brought us together, let me give a short statement of what I conceive to be—

1. The position of the Government towards yourselves.
2. Your position towards the people of this country.

I.—Our Government is one which is founded on the most liberal principles. It not only tolerates every shade of opinion among its subjects, but it considers all its subjects equal. It will admit any one to the very highest employments if he be competent for them, without distinction of race and creed. The people of England, the Parliament of England, the Government of India are anxious to admit *all* to the same privileges as all are interested by the same loyalty to the same Queen. Why is this? because among all the nations of the world, England has alone profited by the lessons of past history, and her greatness is due to understanding

* It was on the strength of the principles and conditions indicated in this appeal and in the accompanying scheme that the bulk of the subscriptions and donations were received.

that the welfare of *every one* subject is necessary to the welfare of the whole country.

This is why *ability* is considered the first requisite for public employment. We endeavour to get the right man in the right place.

But the people of England do not attach less importance to *character*, and considerable importance also to *birth*.

Enlightenment is rapidly progressing all over the world. This is the century for an able man, whatever his birth, and often whatever his character. We must not and cannot shut the door to employment to an able man, but it is very desirable that the most able men should be the men of the best character, and if possible, also of good birth. What did the aristocracy of England do when at the beginning of this century it saw all the other classes rise to its own level by the irresistible power of education? It placed itself at the head of the movement and the noblest and the wealthiest became the most educated and progressive. It is entirely due to this circumstance that the old aristocracy of England have continued and will continue the aristocracy of our beloved country.

II.—If the same course is not adopted in this country, it is difficult to perceive how the same result can be obtained.

“Knowledge is power everywhere,” but particularly in India. You are looked upon as the leaders of your several nations. It is therefore necessary that you should lead the van of education and progress.

The first and immediate thing therefore to be done is of course to promote education. Government can only show the way, but it is the people who are to walk in it. The object of Government instruction is to stimulate *private* educational competition.

Let me quote now from the enclosed despatch. (*Vide Secretary of State for India, Educational Despatch, 1854.*) Is it not clear to you that we ought to establish what I hope *will* be established by this meeting. “The *people's* department of public instruction” which will be established by you, presided over by you, encouraged by you, and supported and perfected under your sole care and responsibility.

There is no opportunity like the present for doing this. Under that best of men and scholars, our honoured and beloved Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Donald McLeod, who loves the people, wishes to perpetuate its ancient sacred languages, to perfect its present vernaculars, and to introduce new knowledge without detriment to old knowledge, we have an opportunity such as Providence only rarely gives to any people.

Nobles! if under such a man you do not raise the condition of the inhabitants of this country, you may never have another such opportunity.

The Lieutenant-Governor's last circular places beyond doubt what his intentions are. Allow me to read it. (*Vide Lieutenant-Governor's Circular on the subject of promoting Oriental learning.*) From this you will perceive that he has two great objects:—

The revival of ancient Oriental learning;

The perfection of the vernaculars of this country.

The first can only be done by encouraging in every way, excellence of every kind in the Arabic, Sanscrit and Persian languages, by bringing into one centre all their literary treasures, and by stimulating the production of books on their history, &c.

The second by translating the best European works into the vernaculars and by

encouraging again, through prizes and appointments, those who most distinguish themselves as authors, compilers or translators.

What is a people without its language, history, traditions and a present learning. A mere name which represents no reality.

But the Lieutenant-Governor wants to preserve the treasures of India, because he wants to preserve the people of India. He wants us to combine Eastern with Western knowledge.

We do not want people merely to know a little English, but to respect their parents, their Raieses, their priests and their elders, to be honest and to be able to manage the work that Government may entrust them with. Therefore, I again say the only thing that can be done is to establish

"The people's own department of public instruction."

This is preferable to instituting a mere literary committee, and *this* is the course which will best meet the objects of the Lieutenant-Governor.

This department will encourage all the teaching Maulvies and Pandits all over the country. It will endeavour to raise voluntary subscriptions and to ask Government for grants-in-aid; it will reward original compositions and translations, it will do everything that the Circular wants us to do, and more, because it will shed lustre and renown on those who take part in it.

But the first thing that the department will do, will be to establish an University at Lahore for the Panjab.

That University will have for its Patron the Lieutenant-Governor, and for its Governors the native rajahs of the Panjab, and for its senate the nobles of Lahore. It will have a committee for preservation and cultivation of the Mohamedan, Hindu, Sikh and other learning.

What will distinguish it from the official instruction will be its complete avowal of the principle of "absolute liberty in giving and receiving instruction."

In other words, we shall have examining committees all over the country at certain periods of the year, in all branches of knowledge and in all the Oriental languages.

At the chief cities we shall have competent lecturers some of whom will give their services gratuitously.

These lecturers will teach with the view to the examination, but *there will be no compulsion of any sort or shape, viz. :—*

Any body of ability may teach under our auspices.

Any body may be taught.

For as short or as long a time as he may like.

Any body may be admitted to the examination and if competent receive degrees and titles. In short, if this country is ever to be what we wish it to be, there must, in this our educational measure, be encouragement everywhere and restriction nowhere.

Unless the *voluntary principle* surrounded by certain safeguards is the basis of our movement, the nation will remain in its childhood. Government will always doubt that the people are fit for high posts as long as we do not show that we are men, not children.

Therefore we must act for ourselves and gain by overwhelming merit, the position to which we aspire. Then the people of England will bountifully bestow its marks of appreciation on a deserving people.

Let us work together, without jealousy of each other's goodness, but for one common object.

On me you can always depend here or in England, in public or private, I shall, in my humble way, always serve your cause.

But if you act in concert for a great, good and noble common object, with implicit reliance on yourselves and each other, you will succeed. Praise will be given to all, where all support and praise each other, and friendship will sanctify the bounds, which have been drawn together by a necessity of common action.

PAPER II. DATED 11TH SEPTEMBER, 1865.

THE "ORIENTAL UNIVERSITY."

Is, as a National Indian Institution,

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| I. A supreme literary body | } For Oriental literature and Western science. |
| II. A supreme examining body | |
| III. A supreme teaching body | |

Its objects will be :—

To restore ancient learning.

To create a good vernacular literature.

To introduce European science through the medium of the vernaculars.

Its principles are :—

That sound education cannot be prescribed, but must be developed. Much must be left to private co-operation and responsibility. That, therefore, the *existing* educational elements in this country must be made use of and developed in the right direction.

That for India the Oriental languages are the natural basis for the superstructure of European science, and that their study alone can give to the natives of this country that mental discipline without which the acquisition of mere "knowledge" is unsound and delusive.

That every class of the population be made to feel an interest in the success of the movement, and that literary merit of any kind be appreciated and rewarded.*

(Here follow details regarding the constitution and estimate of the income and expenditure of the University proposed by Dr. G. W. Leitner, for the consideration of the Raieses of Lahore and Amritsar, and approved of by them.)

PAPER III.—DETAILS OF THE ORIGINAL SCHEME FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ORIENTAL UNIVERSITY.

The Raieses of Lahore and Amritsar have determined, subject to the sanction and support [by a grant] of Government, to establish "A Board of Vernacular Instruction," the main feature of which will be the institution of the "Oriental University," the rough details of which are given further on. The Raieses consider that a scheme of such vastness should be under the patronage of Her Most Excellent Majesty the Queen, His Excellency the Viceroy of India, and His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab.

THE ORIENTAL UNIVERSITY.

Founded in the year 1865 by the Raieses of Lahore, the Rajahs of — and —.

* See also Paper II, *ante*.

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

PATRON.

Her Most Excellent Majesty the Queen.*

VICE-PATRON.

His Excellency the Viceroy of India.

CHANCELLOR.

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab.

OFFICIAL GOVERNORS.†

The Rajah of Kapurthalla.

Ditto (not yet determined).

Ditto (ditto).

LIFE GOVERNORS.

The Founders of the University.

THE COUNCIL.‡

The Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Official Governors, and other men of rank or great literary eminence who may be elected into it.

THE SENATE.§

Is a body composed of the representatives of the several "Literary Committees."

THE LITERARY COMMITTEES.

Supervise the different Examining Boards and fall into two main divisions.

The Committees for Vernacular Literature.

Ditto for Classical Oriental Literature.

The Committees for Vernacular Literature have the following objects :—

1. To select good English books for translation into the Vernaculars of India and to give prizes for the best translations.

2. To encourage and reward original composition in any of the Vernaculars.

3. To raise the standard of Mohamedan and Hindu Schools throughout the country by introducing Vernacular grammars and elementary scientific treatises.

4. To issue books in the Vernacular languages as models of a pure style.

The Committees for Classical Oriental Literature :—

1. To promote the study of the Arabic, Sanscrit, and Persian languages, more particularly, in a systematic and critical manner.

2. To reward any treatise that will throw light on any subject connected with the History, the Customs, the Antiquities, &c., of the Hindus, Mohamedans, Sikhs, and other races of India.

3. To carry on Historical and Antiquarian researches in a systematic manner.

4. To edit and reward good Editions and Commentaries of the great Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian Poets, Historians, &c.

5. To collect within one large central building all the books that can be found bearing on the literature and past history of any of the races of India.

* The prospect of Her Majesty becoming the Patron of the only Oriental University in the world had, no doubt, a very stimulating effect on the liberality of the contributing chiefs and of other native donors.

† By this is meant Members of the University by virtue of their high position.

‡ This body will be the highest managing body of the University.

§ On the sanction of the Government being obtained for the *principles* of the Scheme, a detailed set of laws for the harmonious and systematic working together of the Council, Senate, Literary Committees, &c., will be submitted for approval.

Supervised by the Literary Committees are the Examining Boards.

(Here follow details regarding their work.)

In addition to the above graduates by examination, the University will at once create a number of "honorary graduates" from among the most distinguished native men of letters throughout India, and confer the same honour on the great Orientalists of Europe. The graduates will be the "Fellows" of the University, and will be entitled to vote at the general meetings of the Senate.

As a teaching body, the Oriental University of Upper India will consist of

The Lahore and Amritsar University College.

(Here follow details.)

The University will, moreover, put itself into communication with every literary or scientific society in this country, and with all the Oriental societies of Europe. The University, by translating the papers, &c., read before the latter societies, will on the one hand, stimulate similar inquiries among the learned Moulvies, Pandits, &c., of India; and on the other, show to the societies of Europe that it is able and willing to aid them by such investigations as it will offer to carry on for them in this country.

The first steps towards the creation of the Lahore University College were at once taken by the establishment of an Oriental School, afterwards Oriental College, which represented to the Chiefs and native donors their conception of a teaching Oriental University. Its history is thus described in a recent History of the University of the Panjab:—

The Oriental College.

In order to teach the Oriental Languages upon modern principles, and to impart a knowledge of modern sciences through the medium of the vernacular, an Oriental School was opened in August, 1870. This school had been originally founded, in 1865, by the Anjuman-i-Panjab, and it had then been the object of large donations from native chiefs. When, for certain reasons, the Oriental School was closed, the subscriptions and donations ceased. After its re-opening under improved auspices, very liberal subscriptions and donations again poured in. Dr. E. Trumpp, a well-known Orientalist and linguist, presided over the school for about a year, and when some of the students matriculated and passed higher examination on the Oriental side, a college department was added, and the name Oriental College was given to this, the chief teaching institution of the University College. . . .

To recapitulate briefly, the objects of the College are twofold: (1) to give a high classical Oriental education, together with instructions, in branches of general knowledge, and (2) to give a practical direction to every study. Men who intend to devote themselves entirely to Literature or Science have scholarships and fellowships to look forward to with their incumbent duties of teaching and translating, or they may return to their homes as thoroughly trained Maulvis or Pandits who have also received a liberal education. Those who aspire to the dignity and function of Quazis are trained in their own Law. Persons who wish to take up the practical work of teaching in Army Schools or in the Educational department will, it has been promised, be admitted to a course in the Normal School. The Oriental College is now aiming to train its students for—

1. The Entrance, Proficiency, and high proficiency Examinations in Arts; 2. The Oriental Certificate of Pandits, Maulvis, and Munshis of various degrees; 3. Oriental Fellowships and Translatorships; 4. The teaching functions of Maulvis and Pandits,

and the practical work of Munshis; 5. Native Lawyers; 6. Sub-Overseers; 7. Teachers (for Indigenous, Army, and Educational Department Schools); 8. Hakims and Vaidyas.

PAPER IV.—PROGRAMME, CONTAINING THE PRINCIPLES AND PROMISES ON THE STRENGTH OF WHICH SUBSCRIPTIONS WERE OBTAINED. DATED 29TH MARCH, 1867.

The European Committee of Support.

PRESIDENT—The Hon. Sir Donald McLeod, K.C.S.I., C.B.

MEMBERS—A. A. Roberts, Esq., C.B., C.S.I.; F. H. Cooper, Esq., C.B.; Colonel R. MacLagan, R.E.; T. H. Thornton, Esq., D.C.L.; C. U. Aitchison, Esq., C.S.; G. W. Leitner, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.; Baden Powell, Esq.; Lepel Griffin, Esq. (*Secretary*).

We, the undersigned, members of a European Committee formed in support of the University which is proposed to be established at Lahore, in our private capacities* as well-wishers to a movement which is becoming a national one, earnestly call your attention to the following declaration of our educational views, and of the aims and principles of the new University. Should they meet with your approval we invite your cordial co-operation towards realizing them by every means in your power.

D. F. McLEOD, *President*.

A. A. ROBERTS.

F. H. COOPER.

ROBERT MACLAGAN.

T. H. THORNTON.

C. U. AITCHISON.

G. W. LEITNER.

BADEN POWELL.

LEPEL GRIFFIN, *Secretary*.

Objects and Principles of the Proposed Lahore University.

It has been thought desirable by the European Committee of Support of the new University at Lahore, that a statement of the principles upon which it is being founded, and of the objects which it desires to attain, should be drawn up for general circulation.

1. It may be stated that although the movement to which the University owes its origin has specially been termed "*Oriental*," yet that, by the use of the term, no revival of the old warfare between the Orientalists and "*Anglicists*" is signified. While the revival of the Eastern learning and the creation of a good vernacular literature will be the primary object of the University, yet English will be still considered as the natural complement of education, and of the highest value to the Native student whose mind has been thoroughly disciplined by a study of his national classics.

2. A quotation from the well-known educational despatch of the Secretary of State for India will fitly precede any further observations, as it both explains and justifies the present movement: "The Government schools and colleges, whether high or low, should be regarded, not as permanent institutions, but only as a means for generating a desire and demand for education, and as models meanwhile for imitation by private institutions. In proportion as the demand for education in any given locality is generated, and as private institutions spring up and flourish, all possible aid and encouragement should be afforded to them;

* The local government subsequently endorsed these principles and promises officially.—The "*Panjab University Calendar*," 1874-75, compiled by Mr. E. W. Parker, Officiating Registrar of the Panjab University College.

and the Government, in place of using its power and resources to compete with private parties, should rather contract and circumscribe its measures of direct education, and so shape its measures as to pave the way for the abolition of its own schools."

3. It should be understood that the Oriental movement at Lahore is in no way antagonistic to the Educational Department, which, in some form or another, must always remain a necessity in India, and which, at all events, must continue for a long time to be a model to private institutions. It is probable that but for it, no demand for education would ever have arisen in this country; but, a special demand having arisen, it clearly becomes a duty to act in the spirit of the above-quoted despatch, and give it every possible encouragement. No happier fulfilment of the despatch can be imagined than in a movement which promises to enlist the sympathies of the whole people in its success; and through such a movement alone does it appear likely that the Government will ever be able to contract its own measures of direct education.

4. The necessity for a University founded on these principles at Lahore, is shown by the eagerness and enthusiasm with which the people of the Panjab have welcomed the idea. The University of Calcutta is, for various reasons, unsuited to the wants of this province. Firstly, its distance is too great, and the area over which its affiliated institutions extend too vast and varied to admit of its exercising the influence which would be exercised by a University located at Lahore. Secondly, were the Calcutta University more accessible than it is, it would still, in the opinion of the European and Native promoters of the present movement, be unsuited to the requirements of the Panjab, insisting, as it does, on a considerable knowledge of the English language as a *sine quâ non* for matriculation and the obtaining of degrees, and affording by its course of study little encouragement to the cultivation of the Oriental classics, and none to the formation of a modern vernacular literature. The objects of the Universities of Lahore and Calcutta are different, but not antagonistic; each may carry out successfully its proper speciality, and each may afford the other valuable assistance.

5. The University of Lahore will therefore be founded with the following aims: (a) To allow the people of this country a voice in the direction of their own education; (b) to discipline the minds of students by a course of study in their own classical languages, and of such portion of their literature as would form a natural transition to a really intelligent acceptance of modern ideas; (c) to develop in every way such originality in literature as may already exist in the country, not impeding the progress of the movement by unnecessary rules and restrictions.

6. It appears to the European Committee of Support that the best method of carrying out the first of these intentions will be by leaving the direction of the University education in the hands of a Council representing both the most liberal educational principles of Europe as interpreted by the British Government of India and the wishes of the people of this country. The official members of the Council will thus give a guarantee to the Government for the proper expenditure of such funds as the grant-in-aid principle may afford the University; *while the Native members will prove and maintain the national and independent spirit of the movement.* No one would be eligible to the Council who could not give his adhesion to the principles on which the University is founded.

7. The University will, as a *teaching body*, be composed of colleges in different parts of Northern India, all more or less teaching the subjects in which the University holds periodical examinations. The University, as an *examining body*,

will hold examinations for conferring degrees and "sanads" for proficiency in—(1) Languages, (2) Literature, (3) Science. It will also give rewards for good, original works in the Vernacular, or good editions of standard Oriental works, or for translations from European works. It is also proposed to found fellowships of two kinds—one to be bestowed upon learned men, Natives or Europeans, who will give lectures to University students, or otherwise aid in direct University tuition; the other to Native scholars, who will devote their time to literary pursuits, and who have already given proof of their ability and industry. This second description of fellowship is the more necessary, as a man who devotes himself to Oriental literature alone cannot, as a rule, expect any employment from the Government.

8. In the examinations and the tuition of the University, "the comparative method" will be aimed at, in order to form a link between the languages, literature, and science of the East and the West. Urdu and Hindi will be the principal vehicles for *direct instruction* to the masses of the people. Arabic with Mahomedans, and Sanscrit with Hindus, will hold that place which the classical languages of Greece and Rome hold towards ourselves. *English* will give the opportunity for comparing their own language, literature, and science with our own, and its tuition will thus be rendered a really invigorating exercise for already prepared minds, not a mere word-teaching. It is felt so strongly that it would be fatal to the success of the University were its teaching, which is intended to be on the European system, to degenerate into the old Oriental method, that all examination committees will contain in their number some European of learning and influence, who will thus give a guarantee for the liberality and progressive tendencies of the institution.

9. The University will also correspond with the Oriental societies of Europe and with European philologists, and obtain aid from them in the development of Oriental learning and literature. It will also encourage the formation of literary or scientific societies in this country and co-operate with or support those already in existence.

10. Such, in the briefest outline, are the features of the scheme. To carry it out successfully it will be necessary to obtain for the University an endowment sufficient to guarantee an annual income of Rs. 90,000, and to obtain this, with the grant-in-aid assistance, subscriptions to the amount of nine lakhs of rupees will be necessary.

11. A few words only are required in conclusion. It has been stated that the present movement is in no way intended to inaugurate a reaction hostile to the present educational system. The advantages of English are so great, as the language of the ruling class, and as a vehicle for the direct communication of modern European thought and science, that it would not only be impolitic and foolish, but fatal to the success of the new University to attempt to oppose it or limit its influence. It may, moreover, be added that the Natives of India have so keen an appreciation of the advantages they gain from a knowledge of English, that there is no fear of its study being neglected. In a financial point of view, the movement is an important one. It promises to relieve Government of much of the expense which the growing educational demands of the country entail—claims which we have created and encouraged, which we should rejoice in seeing made, and yet which we are unable, and shall still more in the future be unable, to satisfy, at the risk of appearing wanting not only in generosity, but even in justice. It must also be considered politic to associate the natural leaders of a country—the noble, the learned, and the wealthy—in an undertaking which will invest the Government with national sympathies.

Lastly, it is not only wise, but just, to encourage the present movement. The Natives of India supply the revenues from which all educational grants are made.

It is only fair to allow them some share in the direction of their own education, and to give them opportunities of cultivating the languages and literature that to them are naturally dear.

PAPER V.—EXTRACT FROM A PARLIAMENTARY REPORT ON THE PANJAB UNIVERSITY MOVEMENT, 1875.

The origin of the Panjab University movement is thus described in a Report presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty in 1873 :—

“Two movements inaugurated by the Society (the Anjuman-i-Panjab), call, however, for more especial notice. One of its native members, an eminent Sanscrit scholar, Pandit Radha Kishn, the President of the Sanscrit Section of the Society in its literary department, addressed a letter to Government, suggesting that steps should be taken for the preservation and cataloguing of Sanscrit MSS., a movement which is now being warmly carried out all over India. He received a letter of acknowledgment from H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, then President of the London Sanscrit Text Society and Patron of the “Anjuman,” a gracious act, which not only stimulated the labours of the Society, but gave a considerable impetus to the second movement referred to, viz., the “Oriental movement,” whose importance in affecting the whole course of the Indian system of education, must necessarily be great. Its distinguishing features are described as follows :—

1. *The Foundation of a National University in the Panjab*,—Implying the development of self-government among the natives in all matters connected with their own education. The first step towards this end was to associate with the officers of Government in the control of popular education the donors by whose contributions the proposed University was to be founded, together with the learned men among the natives of the Province.

2. *The Revival of the Study of the Classical Languages of India*, viz., Arabic for the Mohamedans, and Sanscrit for the Hindus; thus showing the respect felt by enlightened Europeans for what natives of India consider their highest and most sacred literature; without a knowledge of which it was felt that no real hold upon their mind can ever be obtained by a reformer.

3. *The bringing European Science and Education generally within the reach of the masses*.—This was to be done by developing the vernaculars of India through their natural sources, the Arabic, Sanscrit, and Persian, and by translating works of interest or scientific value into those vernaculars.

4. *The Elevation of the Standard of Education to the level of the Reforms which are ever being carried out in Europe, and by studying Languages, History, Philosophy, and Law on the “comparative method,” as adapted to the mental disposition of Mohamedans and Hindus respectively*. The University was to be not only an examining body, but also a teaching body, differing in this respect from the other three Indian Universities, those of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, which merely examine. It was also to be a centre of discussion on all subjects affecting education, and finally, a matter of peculiar interest to us in Europe, it was to be an Academy for the cultivation of archæological and philological investigations, and for giving a helping hand to European Orientalists, whose inquiries it would advance by researches on the spot, whilst it would itself benefit by popularizing European Oriental learning, and bringing its critical method to bear on the literary labours of native savans. (*Vide* “P. U. C. Papers and Statutes.”)

The scheme thus conceived, enlisted warm native support, and most liberal contributions poured in. Sir Donald Macleod, the governor of the province, gave his approval to the movement, and under his auspices a committee of European

supporters (viz., Messrs. G. W. Leitner, Lepel H. Griffin, A. Brandreth, A. A. Roberts, Robert MacLagan, C. U. Aitchison, Baden Powell, F. H. Cooper, and T. H. Thornton) issued in its favour a manifesto which was among the documents exhibited by Dr. Leitner at Vienna. It was opposed, however, by the Educational Department and by the Calcutta University, although one of its vice-chancellors, Mr. Seton-Carr, generously declared that, in his opinion, the time for the formation of a fourth university for Upper India had arrived. A long controversy ensued. Its progress was traced in the files of the Indian newspapers exhibited at Vienna, and a reference to them will show the active part which Dr. Leitner took therein. A portion of the general Panjab scheme, viz., the movement in support of vernacular literature, was at length adopted in the north-west provinces, and eventually the Calcutta University was induced to make substantial concessions to the popular requirements and in favour of Oriental learning.

Early in 1870 a "University College" was established at Lahore, and the Government Colleges of Lahore and Delhi, the medical schools (English and vernacular), an Oriental college, law classes, and apparently a school in arts and industry, were affiliated to it. (*Vide Prospectus.*)

"On the recommendation of the Panjab Government" (I quote from the printed statement exhibited at Vienna), the Government of India in its order No. 9, dated 10th June 1869, sanctioned the foundation of the University College, it being stated at the time that the name of "College" had been added to that of "University" in order to mark that this arrangement was temporary, and that as soon as the University College created a larger number of students and candidates for examinations than had existed before, the full rights of a university would be conceded to it."

PAPER VI.—ACT No. XIX OF 1882.

PASSED BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL.

(Received the assent of the Governor-General on the 5th October, 1882.)

AN ACT TO ESTABLISH AND INCORPORATE THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PANJAB.

Preamble.

Whereas an Institution, styled at first the Lahore University College, but subsequently the Panjab University College, was established at Lahore in the year 1869, with the special objects of promoting the diffusion of European science, as far as possible, through the medium of the vernacular languages of the Panjab, improving and extending vernacular literature generally, affording encouragement to the enlightened study of the Eastern classical languages and literature, and associating the learned and influential classes of the Province with the officers of Government in the promotion and supervision of popular education;

But it was at the same time provided that every encouragement should be afforded to the study of the English language and literature, and that, in all subjects which could not be completely taught in the vernacular, the English language should be regarded as the medium of examination and instruction;

And whereas this Institution was, by a Notification, No. 472, dated 8th December, 1869, published in *The Panjab Government Gazette*, of the twenty-third day of December, 1869, declared to be so established, in part fulfilment of the wishes of a large number of the Chiefs, Nobles, and influential classes of the Panjab, and it is now expedient, the said Institution having been attended with success, further to

fulfil the wishes of, the said Chiefs, Nobles, and influential classes, by constituting the said Institution a University for the purpose of ascertaining, by means of examination or otherwise, the persons who have acquired proficiency in different branches of Literature, Science and Art, and for the purpose of conferring upon them academical degrees, diplomas, Oriental literary titles, licenses and marks of honour ;

And whereas it is also expedient that the University so constituted should be incorporated, and that the property, movable and immovable, which has been hitherto held by, or in trust for, the said Institution should become the property of the University, subject to all existing trusts as to the manner in which, and the purposes to which, that property or any part thereof is to be applied ;

It is hereby enacted as follows :—

Short title and commencement.

1. This Act may be called the Panjab University Act, 1882 ; and it shall come into force at once.

Establishment and incorporation of University.

2. (i) A University shall be established at Lahore ; and the Governor-General for the time being shall be the Patron of the University.

(ii) The University shall consist of a Chancellor, a Vice-Chancellor, and such number of Fellows as may be determined in manner hereinafter provided.

(iii) The University shall be a Body Corporate by the name of the University of Punjab, having perpetual succession and a common seal, with power to acquire and hold property, movable or immovable, to transfer the same, to contract, and to do all other things necessary for the purposes of its constitution.

(iv) The University shall come into existence on such day as the Local Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, appoint in this behalf.

3. All the property, movable and immovable, held at the date at which the University comes into existence by or in trust for the Panjab University College, shall, on that date, become the property of the University, to be administered by it for the purposes of the University, subject to all existing trusts as to the manner in which, and the purposes to which, that property or any part thereof is to be applied.

Chancellor.

4. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab for the time being shall be the Chancellor of the University ; and the first Chancellor shall be the Honourable Sir Charles Umpherston Aitchison, Knight Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire, Doctor of Laws.

Vice-Chancellor.

5. (i) The Vice-Chancellor shall be such one of the Fellows as the Chancellor may, from time to time, appoint in this behalf.

(ii) Except as provided in sub-section (iv), he shall hold office for two years from the date of his appointment, and on the expiration of his term of office may be re-appointed.

(iii) But if a Vice-Chancellor leaves India without the intention of returning thereto, he shall thereupon cease to be Vice-Chancellor.

(iv) James Broadwood Lyall, Esquire, of the Bengal Civil Service, and at present Financial Commissioner of the Panjab, shall be deemed to have been appointed the first Vice-Chancellor ; and his term of office shall, subject to the provisions of sub-section (iii), expire on the last day of December, 1884.

Fellows.

6. The following persons shall be Fellows, namely :—

(a) every person who has held the office of Chancellor, and all persons for the

time being holding such offices under Government as the Local Government may, from time to time, by notification in the official Gazette, specify in this behalf ;

(b) persons whom the Chancellor may, from time to time, appoint by name as being eminent benefactors of the Panjab University, original promoters of the movement in favour of the establishment of the Panjab University College, or persons distinguished for attainments in Literature, Science or Art, or for zeal in the cause of education ;

(c) such persons (if any) as may, from time to time, be elected by the Senate of the University, and approved by the Chancellor ; and

(d) the representatives, for the time being with the Government of the Panjab, of such Chiefs (if any) of territories not comprised in British India as the Local Government may, from time to time, by notification in the official Gazette, specify on this behalf :

Provided that—

(i) the whole number of the Fellows holding office under clauses (a), (b) and (c), exclusive of the Vice-Chancellor, shall never be less than fifty ; and

(ii) the number of persons for the time being elected under clause (c) shall never exceed the number for the time being appointed under clause (b).

Explanation.—The succession to an office notified under clause (a), of a person elected under clause (c) or appointed under clause (b), does not affect his position for the purposes of the second clause of this proviso.

7. (i) The offices specified in Part I of the schedule hereto annexed shall be deemed to have been specified in a notification issued under section six, clause (a) ; and

(ii) the persons named in Part II of that schedule shall, except for the purposes of the second clause of the proviso to section six, be deemed to have been appointed Fellows under clause (b) or (c) of section six.

8. (i) The Chancellor may, with the consent of not less than two-thirds of the members of the Senate for the time being in India, cancel the appointment of any Fellow appointed under section six, clause (b) or clause (c) ; and the Local Government may, whenever it thinks fit, by notification in the official Gazette, cancel or amend any notification issued under section six, clause (a), or clause (b).

(ii) If any Fellow appointed under section 6, clause (b) or clause (c), and not being a person named in Part II of the schedule to this Act, leaves India without the intention of returning thereto, or is absent from India for more than four years, he shall thereupon cease to be a Fellow.

9. (i) The Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Fellows for the time being shall form the Senate of the University.

(ii) The Senate shall have the entire management of, and superintendence over, the affairs, concerns, and property of the University, and shall provide for that management, and exercise that superintendence, in accordance with the Statutes, Rules, and Regulations for the time being in force under this Act.

10. At every meeting of the Senate the Chancellor, or, in his absence, the Vice-Chancellor, or, in the absence of both, a Fellow chosen by a majority of the Fellows present at the meeting, shall preside as Chairman.

11. Every question which comes before the Senate at a meeting shall be decided by a majority of the votes of the members present and of such members for the time being in India as may have sent

proxies in accordance with the Rules for the time being in force under this Act; and the Chairman at any such meeting shall have a vote, and, in case of an equality of votes, a second or casting vote.

Provided that no question shall be decided at any such meeting unless fourteen members at the least, besides the Chairman, are present at the time of the decision.

12. Subject to the Statutes, Rules, and Regulations for the time being in force under this Act, the Senate may, from time to time, —

(i) Constitute an Oriental Faculty and Faculties of Arts, Law, Science, Medicine, and Engineering;

(ii) appoint, or provide for the appointment of, a Syndicate;

(iii) appoint, suspend, and remove a Registrar;

(iv) appoint, suspend, and remove, or provide for the appointment, suspension, and removal of, —

(a) Examiners, Officers, and servants of the University, and

(b) Professors and Lecturers in connection with the University,

The first Registrar shall be Gottlieb William Leitner, Esquire, Master of Arts, Doctor of Laws, Barrister-at-Law.

13. The Syndicate shall be the executive Committee of the Senate, and may discharge such functions of the Senate as it may be empowered to discharge by the Statutes, Rules, and Regulations for the time being in force under this Act.

14. Subject to the Statutes, Rules, and Regulations for the time being in force under this Act, the Senate may confer on all persons who have passed such examinations in the University and fulfilled such other conditions as may be prescribed under this Act —

(a) in the Oriental Faculty, the degrees of Bachelor, Master and Doctor of Oriental Learning;

(b) in the Faculty of Arts, the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts and Doctor of Literature;

And, if empowered by the Governor-General in Council in this behalf, —

(c) in the Faculty of Law, the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Laws;

(d) in the Faculty of Science, the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Science;

(e) in the Faculty of Medicine, the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Medicine;

(f) in the Faculty of Engineering, the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Civil Engineering.

The Senate may also confer —

(g) such diplomas, Oriental literary titles and licenses as may be prescribed by any Rules for the time being in force under this Act; and

(h) such marks of honour for a high degree of proficiency in the different branches of literature, science, and art as may be prescribed by these rules.

15. Notwithstanding anything in section fourteen, the Senate may confer degrees, diplomas, Oriental literary titles, licenses or marks of honour, as provided by that section, on any persons who have in the year 1882, before the passing of this Act, passed such examinations prescribed by the Panjab University College as may be sufficient to satisfy the Senate that they are persons qualified in point of learning to obtain those degrees, diplomas, Oriental literary titles, licenses, or marks of honour.

16. Notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained, but subject to the confirmation of the Chancellor, the Senate may, in the Oriental Faculty, and the Faculties of Arts and Law, grant the degree of Doctor to any person without requiring him to undergo any examination for that degree :

Provided that—

(i) a resolution has been passed at a meeting of the Senate that the person is, by reason of eminent position and attainments, a fit and proper person to receive that degree ; and

(ii) in the case of degrees in the Faculty of Law, the Senate has been empowered by the Governor-General in Council to grant such degrees after examination.

17. The Senate may charge such reasonable fees for entrance into the University and continuance therein, for admission to the examinations of the University, for attendance at any lectures or classes in connection with the University, and for the degrees to be conferred by the University, as may be imposed by the Rules or Regulations for the time being in force under this Act.

18. (i) The Senate shall, as soon as may be after the passing of this Act, and may from time to time thereafter, make Statutes, Rules and Regulations consistent with this Act, touching—

(a) the mode and time of convening the meetings of the Senate and of transacting business thereat ;

(b) the appointment, suspension, removal, duties and remuneration of the Registrar, Examiners, Professors, Lecturers, officers and servants ;

(c) the appointment, constitution and duties of the Syndicate and the Faculties ;

(d) the previous course of instruction to be followed by candidates for the examinations of the University ;

(e) the examinations to be passed and the other conditions to be fulfilled by candidates for degrees ;

(f) the examinations to be passed and the other conditions to be fulfilled by candidates for diplomas, Oriental literary titles, licenses and marks of honour respectively ;

(g) the conduct of examinations for degrees, diplomas, Oriental literary titles, licenses, and marks of honour ; and

(h) generally all matters regarding the University.

(ii) All such Statutes, Rules and Regulations shall be reduced into writing, and sealed with the common seal of the University, and shall—

(a) in the case of Statutes, and of Rules and Regulations made under clause (e) of this section, after they have been confirmed by the Local Government and sanctioned by the Governor-General in Council, and

(b) in the case of all other Rules and Regulations after they have been sanctioned by the Local Government,

be binding on all persons, members of the University, or admitted thereto, and and on all candidates for degrees, diplomas, Oriental literary titles, licenses and marks of honour.

(iii) If, on the expiration of eighteen months from the date on which the University comes into existence, no Statutes, Rules or Regulations have been made and sanctioned, or (as the case may be) made, confirmed and sanctioned, under the

foregoing provisions of this section, touching a matter mentioned in sub-section (i), the Local Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, make such Statutes, Rules or Regulations touching that matter as it thinks fit; and, subject in the case of Statutes and of Rules and Regulations touching the matter mentioned in clause (e) to the sanction of the Governor-General in Council, those Statutes, Rules or Regulations shall be deemed to have been made and sanctioned, or (as the case may be) made, confirmed and sanctioned, under sub-sections (i) and (ii).

Duty of Local Government to enforce Act, Statutes, Rules and Regulations.

19. It shall be the duty of the Local Government to require that the proceedings of the University shall be in conformity with this Act, and with the Statutes, Rules and Regulations for the time being in force under the same; and the Local Government may exercise all powers necessary for giving effect to its requisitions in this behalf, and may (among other things) annul, by a notification in the official Gazette, any such proceeding which is not in conformity with this Act, and the said Statutes, Rules and Regulations.

Notifications in certain cases.

20. All appointments made under section five, all appointments made or cancelled under section six, clauses (b) and (c), and section eight, all degrees, diplomas, Oriental literary titles or licenses conferred under sections fourteen, fifteen and sixteen, and all Statutes, Rules and Regulations made under section eighteen, shall be notified in the official Gazette; wherein, also, the record of the proceedings of every meeting of the Senate shall be duly published.

Annual accounts.

21. The accounts of the income and expenditure of the University shall be submitted once in every year to the Local Government for such examination and audit as the Local Government may direct.

Temporary provision as to Statutes, Rules and Regulations.

22. The Statutes, Rules and Regulations of the Panjab University College shall, so far as they are consistent with this Act, be deemed to be the Statutes, Rules and Regulations of the University, and shall remain in force for two years from the date on which the University comes into existence, unless they are sooner repealed by a Statute made in accordance with section eighteen.

PAPER VII.—RECAPITULATION OF SOME OF THE ORIGINAL PRINCIPLES ON THE OCCASION OF THE OFFICIAL INAUGURATION OF THE PANJAB UNIVERSITY IN 1882.

The objects and history of the University of the Panjab were briefly described as follows by Sir Charles U. Aitchison, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab and Chancellor of the University, on the occasion of the official inauguration of that institution by His Excellency the Viceroy, on the 18th November, 1882 :—

"In reporting to your Excellency the business before this, the inaugural Convocation of the Punjab University, I deem it a happy and auspicious circumstance that the Convocation should be presided over by your Lordship. I deem it so, not merely because the Panjab University Act has become law during your Excellency's Viceroyalty, but much more because I know that the popular movement that culminated in the Act passed six weeks ago, has met with your cordial sympathy and support, and because I also know that the principles upon which the University has been founded are in complete harmony with the

enlightened policy of self-help and self-government which your Excellency has recently so clearly and forcibly expounded. In a paper dated so far back as August, 1865, the proposed University is described as 'the people's own department of public instruction.' The popular element has been a distinguishing feature of the project from the very beginning, and explains to a great extent the prominence given to Oriental studies in the constitution of the University. One of the special objects of the University, as set forth in the Statutes, is, 'To associate the learned and influential classes in the province with the officers of the Government in the promotion and supervision of popular education.' The other special objects, as your Excellency is aware, besides making provision for the highest study of English, are two :—1. To promote the diffusion of European science as far as possible, through the medium of the vernacular languages of the Panjab, and the improvement and extension of vernacular literature generally. 2. To afford encouragement to the enlightened study of Eastern classical languages and literature.' All these special objects are prominently set out in the preamble of the Act, and I have recently had the satisfaction of being assured, by those who were most intimately connected with the movement from the first, and to whose suggestions, indeed, the foundation of the University is due, that the Act in its present form is all that the founders and the public desire."

PAPER VIII.—SUMMARY OF LAST REPORT OF THE PANJAB UNIVERSITY (1883).

The following extracts from the Convocation Report of the Panjab University dated 1st December, 1883, will show the work done :—

The receipts of the current account during the Calendar year 1882, amounted to Rs. 75,495 and the expenditure to Rs. 70,420, the figures for the year 1881 being Rs. 64,953 and Rs. 63,881 respectively. Less than a third of the income has been received as a grant-in-aid, and of this grant a portion (amounting to Rs. 4817) has been spent on Government objects and institutions as usual. During the year the funded account received the following donations up to October, 1883, for the general purposes of the University :—

From H. H. the Raja of Suket	Rs. 1000
„ H. H. the Raja of Lumbagraon	„ 1000

His Highness the Raja of Faridkot and Rai Mela Ram of Lahore have also subscribed Rs. 5000 and Rs. 1000 respectively, for the general purposes of the University. Donations of Rs. 3000, and of 666 copies of an Urdu translation of Sir Lepel Griffin's "Panjab Rajas" have been received from Vazir-ud-daula Mudabbir-ul-Mulk Khalifa Syad Muhammed Hassan, Prime Minister, Patiala State, for founding two annual gold medals; the one, in honour of Sir Charles Aitchinson, to be awarded to the student who stands first on the list of B.A.'s and M.A.'s and whose first language is English and second Arabic; the second to be awarded, in honour of Sir Lepel Griffin, to the student who stands first for the degree of Bachelor of Oriental Learning, taking Arabic as his first and English as his second language. Raja Harbans Singh has given Rs. 1000 to pay for the dies of the medals previously founded by him.

Rai Bahadur Kandya Lal has also founded a prize in honour of General Pollard, by a donation of Rs. 1000 to the Panjab University. The prize is to be awarded annually in the shape of books or drawing instruments to the candidate who stands first in the First Examination in Civil Engineering of the Panjab University.

The principal donors to the endowment fund have been :—

H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala	Rs. 1,16,230
Do. Do. of Jammu and Kashmir	98,478
Do. Raja of Kapurthala	37,000
Do. Nawab of Bahawalpur	35,000
Do. Raja of Jhind	26,000
Do. Do. of Nabha	17,000

Between Oct. 1, 1882, and Sept. 30, 1883, the number of candidates in the Arts Examinations of the current year was 464, as against 304 in 1882, of whom 338 went up through the medium of English, and 66 through that of the Vernacular; of the successful candidates 132 passed in English and 25 in the Vernacular.

Maulvi Muhammed Din, Maulvi Abdul Aziz, and Maulvi Ghulam Mustafa, are the first recipients of the M. O. L. Degree. Maulvi Muhammad Jumal will be the second recipient of the B. O. L. Degree. Chuni Lal and Arjan Singh have taken Honours in History, and Pirzada Muhammad Husain that in Persian and will receive the degree of M.A., whilst Maya Ram, Kesho Das, Jiya Ram, Sri Ram, Raushan Lal, and Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, of the Government College, Lahore, will receive that of Bachelor in the same Faculty.

In the Examinations in Oriental Languages, Literature, Law, and Science, the total number of passed candidates was 213 in the current year, against 126 in 1882. This number, however, does not include 54 candidates who passed in Professional Oriental subjects, such as the Hakim, Qazi, Arithmetical and Vernacular Office Work Examinations. The Oriental Examinations continue to attract candidates from other provinces.

In Law, for which there were 165 candidates in December, 1882, the first place is gained by Chhajju Ram, of the Law School, who gets the Jaishi Ram Gold Medal. Arjan Singh, a teacher in the District School, Gujrat, stood first in the First Law Examination. The silver medal, however, goes to Gajan Singh, who stood first in the First Law Examination among the Law School candidates.

In Medicine (English Section) there were 23 candidates, of whom 9 passed; Hori Lal, of the Lahore Medical School, being first at the Final Examination in Medicine, and Hardial Singh, of the same school, being first at the First Examination in Medicine. The candidates who succeed in passing the Final Examination are appointed Assistant-Surgeons.

In the Examinations in the Yunani System of Medicine, 5 passed out of 10 for Hakim-i-Haziq, and 7 out of 12 for the Umdat-ul-Hukema Examinations, and in those held in the Vaidak systems, 3 out of 6 for Vaidya and 1 out of 3 for Bhishak, all from the Oriental College. They will, however, be required to finish a four years' course at the Lahore Medical School in European Medicine, before obtaining the Oriental Medical Diplomas.

Seven candidates went up from the Oriental College for the First Examination in Civil Engineering, of whom 3 passed.

SUMMARY OF EXAMINATIONS.

The total number of candidates for the various Examinations was 1089 :—

Entrance, Calcutta	106	First Arts, Calcutta	8
Do. Panjab	386	Proficiency, Panjab	50
B.A., Calcutta	2	M.A., Calcutta	0
Do. Panjab	20	Do. Panjab	8

TEACHING INSTITUTIONS.

The Institutions directly connected with the Panjab University, and supported either entirely or partly from its funds were, in 1883, as follows:—

The Oriental College, Lahore; the Government College, Lahore; the St. Stephen's Mission College, Delhi; the Lahore Sanskrit School; the Arabic School of Nawab Nawazish Ali Khan; the Amritsar Sanskrit School; the Arabic Sanskrit School, Multan; the Government Aided School, Jullundur; the Ludhiana Hindu School; the Mohamedan School, Gujranwala.

In addition to these Schools, the Government High Schools and the Government College, as well as many indigenous Schools, and some Schools and Colleges in other Provinces, have been sending their students for the examinations of the Panjab University, the teaching function of which has thus been performed by Institutions directly under its control or indirectly under its influence.

THE ORIENTAL COLLEGE.

The number of students borne on the rolls on the 31st March, 1883, was 299;—727 students of this College have passed the various examinations of the Panjab University up to date, the number of passed candidates in the examinations of the current year being 92.

Among the works published by the University during the year, were the following:—

A Grammar of the Prakrit Language, in Sanskrit and English, by Pandit Rikhi Kesh Bhattacharji, Shastri; first four books of Euclid, in Gurmukhi, by Pandit Jogi Shiv Nath; Ajiran Manjiri, a Gurmukhi Tract on Dispepsia, according to the Vaidyak System, by the same author; History of the Sikhs, in Gurmukhi, by Pandit Bhandat, Visharad.

PAPER IX.—RELATIONS OF THE PANJAB UNIVERSITY TO SCHOLARS IN EUROPE.

The objects of the University of the Panjab, especially as regards its relations with Oriental societies and scholars in Europe, were thus described at the inaugural meeting of the International Congress of Orientalists held at Leyden in September last, at the Arian Section of which also the President submitted to the Congress the following communication from Professor Bühler: "As it is very desirable to establish an exchange of publications between the Oriental Institutions of Europe and the literary and teaching bodies of India, Orientalists who wish to extend their relations in that direction, and in particular to procure the publications of the University of the Panjab and of other literary bodies of that province, as also manuscripts and prints regarding the East and special information, are requested to address Dr. Leitner, Registrar at the Panjab University, who will submit to its Senate any proposal for the publication of scholarly editions of Oriental texts as well as of translations or of books of reference which Orientalists and European savans might wish to undertake."

Dr. Leitner spoke as follows at the inaugural meeting of the Congress:—

"One of the important events in the Oriental World, and also (as I hope may be proved in future) in the World of Orientalists, since the last Congress, has been the recognition and investiture with extensive privileges by the Indian Government on the 14th October, 1882, of the Anglo-Oriental University of the Panjab, which has been founded, after a struggle of seventeen years, by the liberality of the Indian chiefs and gentry and by the energy and devotion of the

learned classes of the Panjab and of several European promoters, among whom I notice that Mr. Thornton, the delegate of the Royal Asiatic Society, is present on this occasion. This Institution has been established as an examining, a teaching and a literary body for research, and a Board of Education for the province, and has, in addition to the ordinary functions of a complete University and Academy, in the fullest sense of these works, for its special task the revival and development on a comparative and critical basis of Oriental classical learning and of the spread of knowledge to the masses of India through the medium of their vernacular languages. With this view one of the principles laid down by the promoters and founders at the beginning of the movement for the establishment of an Oriental University in India, the only one in the world, was to enter into relations with Oriental Institutions and Scholars in the West, to aid their aims by local researches and to receive their advice for the further development, improvement and cultivation of Oriental studies. I need not point out what a wide field this offers for the activity of Orientalists, but when I add further that the University in question has already issued over 190 works, no doubt of varying degrees of merit and chiefly translations or editions of existing works, that several hundred thousand copies of popular Persian, Urdu and Panjabi poets are yearly lithographed by the unaided activity of the people of the Panjab and that the 2000 State Schools of that province absorb about 68,000 copies of one Urdu Reader only, while the 13,000 indigenous Arabic, Sanscrit, Gurmukhi and other Schools have more or less extensive courses of reading, and that all this only refers to one province of the Indian Empire, a vista for literary enterprise is still further opened for Oriental authors and publishers, whose publications will be as valuable to us as those of the Panjab may be to them. Indeed, the eminent Oriental publishers, Messrs. Trübner, followed by Messrs. Allen, have, with praiseworthy liberality, already presented a copy of all of their valuable productions to the University of the Panjab. Similarly, it is to be hoped that the University of the Panjab will, on the application of the State resources for higher education being made by its advice, engage the services of Orientalists in Europe and elsewhere as both 'Lehrer and Mehrer' of their respective specialities. Finally, it may be deserving of the attention of this Congress, to consider how far the schemes of the Panjab University examinations for the ordinary degrees of Bachelor, Master and Doctor of Oriental learning, and the honorary degree of Doctor of Oriental learning, which latter the Government of England and India has reserved to the highest proved Oriental attainments, as also the Examinations for the various grades of Pandit, Maulvi and Munshi, may not be also rendered available as a stimulus to the Oriental students and scholars in Europe, by constituting certain centres where the leading Orientalists may be found under whose care and guidance the examination papers may be given out to the Oriental candidates recommended by them. To us in the Panjab it is of, at least, equal importance that the Orientalists of Europe, the United States and elsewhere should watch the further development of the University of the Panjab, so that it may remain true to the special object of its foundation. Oriental learning as the basis and European science as the superstructure on indigenous methods are equally necessary; otherwise we may have to deplore events like that at Batala, where several hundredweight of valuable Sanscrit, Persian and Gurmukhi manuscripts were sold as waste paper, a great contrast to the purchase of 700 Arabic manuscript by the enterprising Oriental publisher, Mr. Brill of this city Leyden, this good, clean, and lovable Athens of the North. The preservation

also of traditional explanations, curricula of studies and the utilization of indigenous schools, regarding which a lengthy Report has been submitted to the Congress, will be I trust, an object of the constant care of the University of the Panjab, with which also the network of State Schools and Colleges is now connected, which issues several critical monthly journals in Arabic, Sanscrit, Persian and other languages and before which over 1000 candidates presented themselves at the examinations during the previous ten years of its existence as a University College, for, as many of you are aware, this institution discharged many of the functions of an University for a series of years, without the name and status of one, which have now been conferred on it by the Legislature. It is to the Indian Government that the world is indebted for its only Oriental University, and it seems to me that an assembly like the present one may well wish it 'God speed' and leave its further care and development, for the benefit of Oriental learning to the authority that has called it into official existence. Whilst doing this, however, it is impossible to overlook the debt of gratitude which we owe to the Anjuman-i-Panjab Association, which originated the movement and also founded the new flourishing Oriental College, the 'Mahavidyala' of the Pandits and the 'Bait-ul-ulum' of the Maulvis, as a forerunner of the Oriental teaching aspect of the University." (Applause.)

H.—THE PROPOSED BRANCH OF THE PUNJAB UNIVERSITY IN LONDON.

The following article from *The Athenceum* shows how far effect has been given to the original principles of the Punjab University movement as regards the relations of that body with scholars in Europe:—

THE PROPOSED ORIENTAL UNIVERSITY, MUSEUM, AND GUEST-HOUSE IN LONDON.

It will interest our readers to learn that the Royal Dramatic College is about to be devoted to a purpose which may become of the greatest use to this the largest Oriental empire of the world, as also to Eastern countries and scholars generally. Dr. Leitner, the founder of several institutions in England and India, has just purchased this building, together with ten acres of land, which will afford ample space for the erection of other edifices, for the purposes of (a) an Oriental University, conducting the Oriental examinations of the Punjab University in Europe (just as some of the examinations of the University of London are conducted in several of the colonies), and forming a link between European and Eastern Orientalists in the production of original and translated works, and in the prosecution of research; (b) an Oriental Museum and Library, illustrating the same, for the promotion of Oriental literature, art, archaeology, ethnology, industry, and commerce; (c) a free Punjab Guest-house, specially adapted to Mahomedans, Hindus, and Sikhs respectively. We propose to publish in an early issue further details regarding the University, the work of which seems to have been foreshadowed in a communication made by Prof. Bühler at the recent Leyden Oriental Congress. The Oriental Museum has already promises of valuable collections illustrating the past and present of several Eastern countries, and, above all, the influence of Greek art on

Egypt, Asia Minor, Persia, and, perhaps, also India. The Oriental Guest-house, however, requires explanation. It is chiefly, if not entirely, intended for our Indian fellow-subjects of good caste, who are, as a rule, deterred from availing themselves of the facilities which London affords for professional studies, and, indeed, even from visiting this country, by the non-existence of means whereby, if they so desire, they may follow their caste usages, which are often identified with the preservation of health and morality. The proposed free Guest-house is only thirty-seven minutes by the fast trains from Waterloo Station, thus enabling students who wish to frequent the Inns of Court, hospitals, or colleges, to do so daily as conveniently and quickly as if they resided in a London suburb. The Guest-house has twenty dwellings, each composed of a bed-room, sitting-room, kitchen, scullery and bath-room, which will be so arranged on the Hindu side that the most fastidious Brahmin may be able to cook his own food (at a very material reduction of the cost of living in England, no rent being charged for the quarters), and to follow his religious or caste usages without interference. He will then be able to return to India with unimpaired influence among his fellow countrymen, from whom, by loss of caste, so many natives now become alienated, to the injury of the cause of progress, of which they then generally cease to be trusted pioneers, to quote the words of a preliminary programme that has been put into our hands.

It is also intended to make arrangements for the tuition of Europeans and natives of good family for official careers in the East, and this country will, it is hoped, then be in a position not inferior to that of France, where all living Eastern languages are taught, free of cost, at the *École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* of Paris. During Dr. Leitner's absence in India the Institution will be in charge of a well-known Orientalist, assisted by a resident staff of professors, if endowments are forthcoming, of which there can be no doubt after the liberality shown by several Punjab chiefs. Their historian, Mr. (now Sir) Lepel Griffin, is taking the greatest interest in the undertaking, and when in the Punjab, mainly helped Dr. Leitner in the foundation of the Punjab University. Mr. (now Sir) Henry Sumner Maine, when in India in 1868, laid before the Council a scheme, written at his instance by Dr. Leitner, in which the advantages to natives of such an institution in or near London were pointed out. In that year, and again in 1877, the proposal received the countenance of the Punjab Government, and was strongly advocated by a provincial association, the Anjuman-i-Punjab, which has since August last pressed more particularly on the attention of the Indian public a project which ought to have been carried out long ago by this country.

The Times welcomes the new Institution in the following article, which chiefly emphasizes its political advantages:—

THE PUNJAB REST HOUSE, WOKING.

We are able to announce that Dr. Leitner, the Principal of the Lahore Government College, has completed the purchase of the Royal Dramatic College at Maybury, for the purposes of an Oriental University, Museum, and free Guest House for natives of the East belonging to the better classes. It will be remembered that the foundation stone of the Royal Dramatic College was laid by the late Prince Consort in 1860, and that it was inaugurated by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in 1865. It was to afford a dignified retirement to members of the dramatic profession, and liberal contributions poured in from every quarter. A large sum of money was spent or wasted on the erection of a remarkable building, constructed

under the supervision of the late Sir William Tite, and the groves of the Academy were imitated in the walks of the grounds that surround the college. Its hall was profusely adorned with busts, rare paintings, and even jewellery; but Fortune was not conciliated, and after a period of dissensions among the actors, all went to the hammer. Sir Theodore Martin observes, in the "Life of the Prince Consort," that the Royal Dramatic College is "one of the few institutions in which he interested himself that have not succeeded." It will be a satisfaction to the public to learn that it is now to be devoted to a purpose which may prove to be of the greatest advantage to the Eastern relations of this country. The first impulse to the present scheme appears to have been given by Sir Henry Maine, who in 1868 laid before the Indian authorities a scheme drafted at his suggestion by Dr. Leitner for an Indian institute in or near London. The idea was warmly taken up by a Punjab association of European and native officials and gentlemen, which has since continued to urge it as the best means for training natives of India for the various professions, and for enabling native officials in the educational, judicial, engineering, and other departments of our Indian administration, to avail themselves of the facilities offered for improvement in their respective specialities by this great metropolis, in the event of their spending their periods of leave in Europe, as some of them already do. It has, however, been noticed that the natives who have returned from this country to India have not that influence among their respectable fellow citizens which their sojourn in the midst of our civilization would have warranted us in assuming. The fact is that they have lost caste, and have in consequence become too alienated from the community to be trusted as advocates of progress. Many of these Anglicized natives fall into evil courses, and few have fulfilled the expectations of their education. To prevent the necessity of loss of caste, which now deters our best Indian fellow subjects from visiting the seat of the Empire, from learning the lessons of our civilization, if not faith, and, in short, from availing themselves of its culture, Dr. Leitner is making somewhat technical arrangements both here and with one of the steamship companies, which will have the effect of preserving caste for those to whom it is an object to return to India with unimpaired influence among their fellow countrymen. One wing of the Royal Dramatic College will be devoted to Hindus and Sikhs, and the other to Mahomedans. Free quarters will be given, and each resident will be enabled, if so disposed, to cook his own food in accordance with national or caste usage. The expense of living will accordingly be small, while facilities for instruction will be afforded by various public institutions which are within easy reach of Waterloo Station, where the student arrives from Maybury in thirty-seven minutes by the fast train, thus rivalling the rapidity of conveyance from a London suburb. As regards the Oriental University, we are informed in the programme that it will conduct the Oriental examinations of the Punjab University in Europe, just as some of the examinations of the University of London are conducted in several of the colonies, and that it is intended to form a link between European and Eastern Orientalists in the production of original and translated works, and in the prosecution of research. The object of this branch of an Indian corporation is evidently to encourage both students and authors of Oriental literature in Europe by giving them not only honours, but also profitable occupation.

The Oriental Museum, and the Library, which will explain its lessons, are mainly for the promotion of Punjab commerce and industrial art, and will endeavour to bring the English purchaser into direct relations with the Punjab manufacturer; but they will also illustrate the literature, art, archæology, and ethnology of the

East in the widest sense of the term. Various collections have already been promised to the museum, and it is more than probable that it will also contain the art treasures collected by Dr. Leitner himself, which we described ten years ago as invaluable, and which are still deposited on loan at the South Kensington and other Museums.

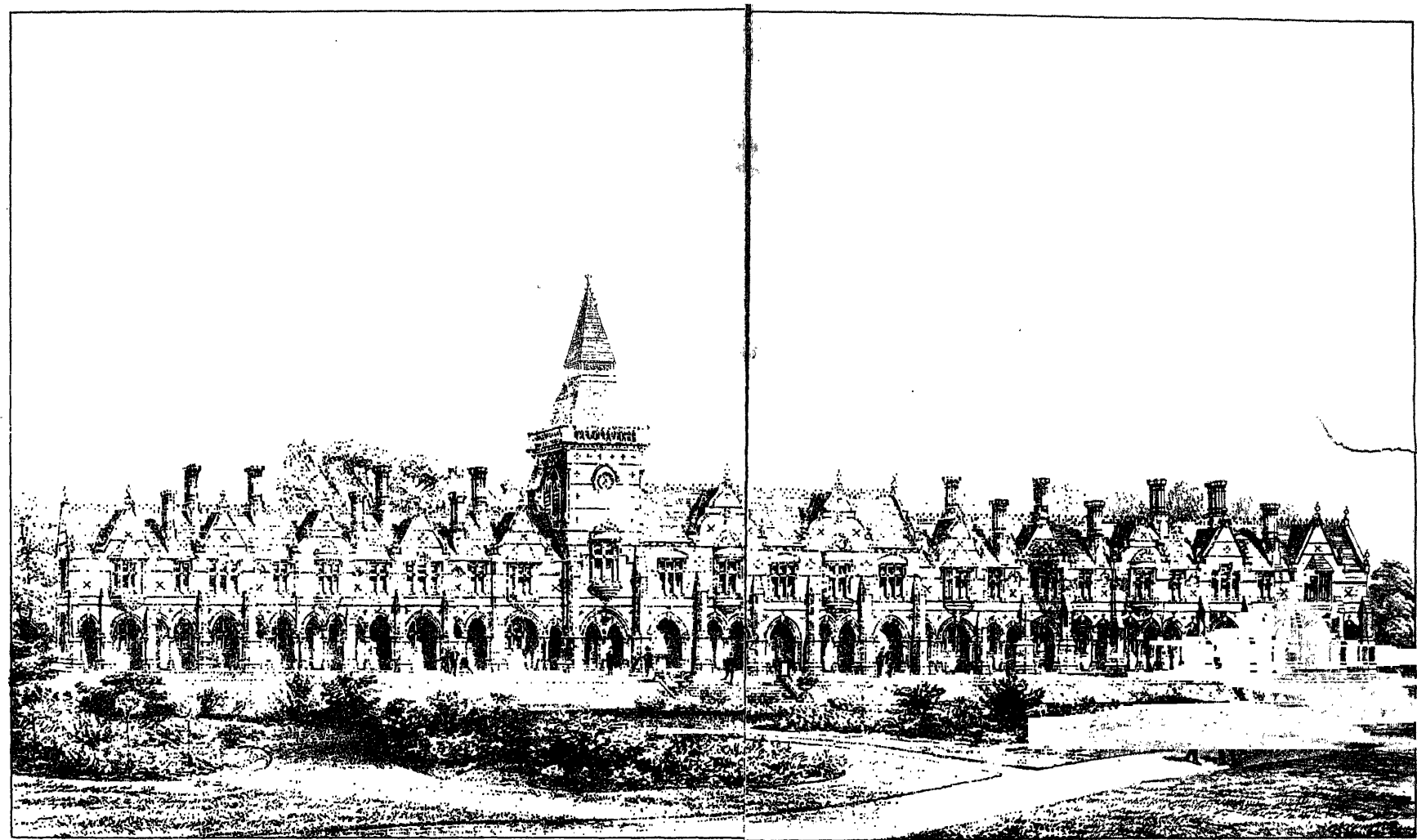
As endowments come in, it is proposed to found Oriental professorships, fellowships, and scholarships, and to enable Europeans and others who prepare themselves for official, professional, and even mercantile careers in the East to study Oriental language free of cost, as is already the case in France at the Paris School of Living Oriental Languages. We trust that Dr. Leitner's scheme will receive every encouragement both from the learned public and the Government of this and every other country that takes an interest in the East.

The Christian World expresses itself as follows in a spirit of English fairplay, and of an enlightened Christianity as regards pious Mahomedan and Hindu Students at the proposed London Branch of the Panjab Oriental University.

AN ORIENTAL UNIVERSITY IN LONDON.

On the day that the Duke of Albany breathed his last, there came into existence an institution which that learned Prince would have delighted to honour, and which, it is now hoped, will be named in his memory. We refer to Dr. Leitner's purchase of the Royal Dramatic College for the purposes of an Oriental University, Museum, and Free Guest-house for Easterns of the better classes. Dr. Leitner is well known as the founder of numerous institutions, especially of the Panjab University, and, indeed, it is rather in the capacity of a branch of that body than as an independent institution that the Oriental University is to conduct certain examinations for Oriental students, and to give occupation to Oriental authors. As a museum, it will aim at being both theoretical and practical; in the former aspect the various departments of Archæology, Numismatics, Ethnology, and Manuscripts will illustrate one another, instead of being painfully divided as they now generally are, to the distress of the student; whilst, in the latter, details as to place, cost, and amount of manufacture, will accompany the industrial exhibits. To this museum various collections have already been promised, and it is more than probable that they will also contain the collections made by Dr. Leitner in Asia Minor, Greece, Egypt, and India. The Free Guest-house is a name that may puzzle a reader. It is, however, a conception both Mediæval and Oriental, as well as modern, and it will none the less commend itself to English ideas of fairplay and of an enlightened Christianity. Dr. Leitner has contended since 1868 that, in the very interests of a higher civilization and faith, we should make provision in this country for the visits of our Mahomedan and Hindu fellow-subjects in a manner which may not wound their religious or social susceptibilities. A pious Mahomedan or Hindu is, as a rule, a better man and citizen than one who has earned a cheap reputation for civilization by eating pork or beef and drinking beer or brandy. At any rate, the native who is above or below his own religion or caste, monopolizes at present all the educational, social, and official advantages which England affords, whilst the religious Indian student or visitor is debarred from them. Dr. Leitner's Guest-house, it is hoped, will remedy this state of things, which is so injurious to our prestige and to the spirit of true Christian charity.

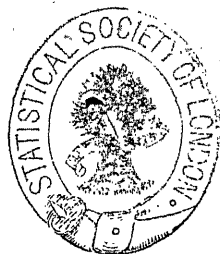
The Institute is within easy reach of the centre of London, being less than forty minutes by a fast train, so that resident students who wish to frequent the Inns of Court, Hospitals, or Colleges, for the prosecution of professional or general studies, will be enabled to do so daily, as conveniently and quickly as if they were resident in a London suburb. The Guest-house for the present consists of two wings, one for Hindus and Sikhs and the other for Mahomedans, each wing containing ten separate dwellings which can be so arranged as to enable their inmates to cook their own food in accordance with their customs, and to the saving of a considerable item of expenditure. Free furnished quarters will be given to students and visitors. Finally, it is intended to endow Professorships of living Oriental Languages, such as the State maintains in France, free of cost, to students whose future career is in the various parts of the East. This is a feature of Dr. Leitner's scheme to which too great importance cannot be attached, for there can be no doubt that many of our failures in Turkey, Egypt, Persia, and elsewhere are due, often with the best intentions, to a want of sympathy which is caused by ignorance of Eastern languages and races. To cultivate friendly relations among Oriental and European students in this country proceeding to a common home, will be one of the incidental advantages of the scheme. It is confidently expected that Eastern potentates generally will assist in the undertaking; for it is one that allows full scope for any provision which they may wish to make for the benefit of their subjects and co-religionists in England.



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THE NEW ORIENTAL UNIVERSITY, MUSEUM, AND GUEST HOUSE,
— WOKING, SURREY. —





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EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,

Instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

EUROPEAN PAUPERISM IN INDIA.

PAPER BY THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON BALY,
READ AT A MEETING OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,

ON MONDAY, JUNE 23, 1884.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BART., G.C.S.I., C.I.E., D.C.L.,

IN THE CHAIR.

A MEETING of the members and friends of the East India Association was held on Monday afternoon, June 23rd, 1884, in the Exeter Hall Council Chamber, for the purpose of considering a paper by the Venerable Archdeacon Baly, entitled "European Pauperism in India: its Causes and Cure."

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, Bart., G.C.S.I., C.I.E., D.C.L. (President of the Association), occupied the chair, and amongst those present were the following:—Sir Basil F. Hall, Bart.; Major-General R. M. Macdonald; Captain T. Hay Campbell; Rev. James Long; Rev. J. Crompton Sowerbutts; Dr. R. Pringle; Brigade-Surgeon G. A. Watson; Mr. A. Arathoon; Mr. C. W. Arathoon; Mr. F. T. Atkins; Mr. R. F. Chisholm; Mrs. Clark; Mr. R. Clark; Mr. Hyde Clarke; Miss Sophia Cracroft; Mr. Robert H. Elliot; Mr. J. G. Ferraud; Mr. Fitzmaurice; Mr. J. E. Howard; Mr. Arthur Hullah; Mr. J. B. Knight; Mr. B. S. Mankar; Mr. R. G. Orr (Madras); Mr. C. Pfoundes; Mr. John Shaw (Madras); Mrs. Shaw; Mrs. Henry Woodrow; Mrs. Woolmar; Mr. W. Hamilton Burn (Secretary).

In opening the proceedings, the CHAIRMAN said: Before beginning with the particular business of the afternoon, I should like with your permission to give notice that this East India Association of ours contemplates very shortly holding a discussion with a view to petitioning the Secretary of State for India for a Wild Birds' Protection Act. The interest and importance of that matter will commend itself I am sure to the consideration of all those who are acquainted with India, and I am glad to see at this moment that we are favoured with the presence of my friend Mr. Elliot, who takes an enlightened interest in this subject. Now, ladies and gentlemen, permit me to introduce to you, if introduction is necessary, our old and venerated friend Archdeacon Baly, late of the diocese of Calcutta. The Archdeacon is about to address us to-day upon the subject of European Pauperism in India, its causes and its cure. I need hardly remind you that no person, either in Europe or in Asia, is more qualified to speak upon this subject than the Venerable Archdeacon Baly, for he has for a long time in India identified himself with this subject; indeed, this particular cause he has made his own. He has visited these poor Europeans in their squalid and neglected homes, bringing to them the beneficent message of everlasting peace. He has also been strenuous in providing for the education of their children, rescuing these little ones from vice and ignorance, tenderly conducting them from degradation to civilization, and leading them forth from darkness into light. And, not only has he endeavoured to provide schools for these children in the plains of India, but also in the bracing and salubrious regions of the Himalayas. Besides that he has advocated the cause of our poor European or Eurasian, or half-caste fellow-subjects, in writing and in speaking, by lectures and speeches on various occasions, by sermons from the pulpit, and by frequent representations to the authorities; he has also inserted valuable and impressive notices upon this important subject in many of the public prints of England. And now, though he has given up that extensive cure in which under Providence he wrought so much good in India, still he thinks of those he has left behind him on the other side of the ocean, and this afternoon he has come to give us his maturest and his latest ideas upon this subject. I am sure that to the exposition which he will now read to you, you will give the most respectful attention, for he is a man who has a claim to speak and a right to be heard, and in truth he has been instant and constant in good works.

Before calling upon you to give your best attention to what the Venerable Archdeacon has to say, I may mention that we have received letters of apology for unavoidable absence from the Venerable Archdeacon Drury and from Mr. W. Martin Wood.

Archdeacon DRURY writes as follows:—"I have a meeting to-morrow from which I cannot absent myself. I expected that Mr. White's agricultural scheme would have provided for a goodly number of Eurasian poor; but I gather from a passage you have marked in Archdeacon Baly's paper, that the scheme collapsed. It is a most difficult problem to know what can be done for the poorer classes of Eurasians, who are badly fed, and therefore grow up weak, and unequal to any great physical or mental exertion. Good education in an invigorating climate, and good food and strict discipline, will redeem a great number from listlessness and inactivity. For subordinate situations, many educated natives will do the necessary work on about half the salary that an East Indian can live upon, and therefore obtain employment sooner than an East Indian. You have Sir Richard Temple—a great man—and Archdeacon Baly, for coadjutors in the cause. If I attended the meeting, I could do no more than say something ought to be done. East Indians must, it seems to me, according to the present *régimé*, mix with natives in schools which, as a rule, in Mofussil towns, provide a far better secular education than that offered in small East Indian schools under masters with less pay and lower acquirements. I know this remedy has its draw-backs and very serious ones, but still I think in these days of competition where only inferior education is otherwise alone available for the poorer class of East Indians in the Mofussil, it is worth adopting. I see no other course to fit them for the keen struggle for life into which they must enter. A school for the poor ought not to be a school in which only very poor education is afforded, just sufficient to enable them to read novels and write begging-letters. Take an Eurasian lad out of such a school, employ, examine him, and see how deficient he is in qualifications and acquirements necessary for the more lucrative situations. You will find also that natives of the same standard of intellectual acquirements will work accordingly on much lower pay. The painful result is too obvious. I shall look forward with interest to read the result of your meeting."

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD expresses his regret at his inability to be present, but he sends the following rough notes as a contribution to the discussion:—"Although we have recently had a subject before us similar, in certain respects, to the one treated of in the present paper, this branch of the question, as dealt with by Archdeacon Baly, comes in more tangible form, while the suggestions made towards its solution are eminently practical. There is one remark I would make on the definition or rather phrase, 'The middle and poorer classes of Europeans' in India, which may be rather misleading. No one who

reads the paper carefully, especially having local knowledge as most members of our Association have of the classes referred to, can make any serious mistake. It is chiefly classes of mixed descent that have to be considered. Perhaps the phraseology used in the paper is most suitable for the present purpose, and the difficulty of improving on it will be felt by those who remember, as our President must very distinctly, how Sir Henry Maine, when settling the Act for restraining 'loaferism' in India, Bound himself driven to adopt the phrase 'persons of European extraction.' This term was made to include not only Levantines and other waifs and strays from Europe; but Americans (mostly vagabond sailors) and Australians. By conjoining Sir Henry Maine's and Archdeacon Baly's phrases the classes to be considered may be aptly indicated thus—persons of European extraction who live, labour, and die in India, and whose children have the same career. The very careful description given in the paper of the subdivision of this really large class in the trading cities of India, seems to place the whole of this grave and difficult question fairly before us. That its difficulties do not obtrude themselves in the surface of the paper is good evidence of—what we know from other sources—that Archdeacon Baly has faced those difficulties and thoroughly grappled with them. That he has disposed of them would be too much to say; but he has put the whole business before us in such a way as to show that it can and must be dealt with. - We are confronted with the inevitable question of public expense—of State funds being applied to the necessities of special classes. Well, this has often had to be done in India, and we must not shrink from considering it in the shape now presented. Our President can readily indicate the scope of this little, but real, political difficulty; and in the Archdeacon's paragraph on page 364, 'Under the present 'inequality,' &c., he has come to as nearly a vindication of his plea as can be framed. In all he says as to the very strong claims for steady voluntary contributions towards the education of the classes in question, I heartily concur; and I trust that one incidental result of this meeting will be that many of our members and friends may be incited to contribute and collect donations and subscriptions for the Indo-British schools at Bombay, and other similar institutions which Archdeacon Baly will be glad to name. As he says (page 364), the people of India who contribute tens of thousands for the Christian Propaganda in India, must take their share of the cost of rescuing their kindred, so to speak, from ignorance and pauperism. As to openings of employment of the classes in question, I am glad to notice the decided and authoritative tone adopted by the writer of the

paper to the effect that there are ample openings in India for fairly remunerative work, if only these persons of European extraction can be trained for it. It is something that the Archdeacon sweeps aside two or three of the fanciful and eleemosynary schemes for absorbing or disposing of the Eurasian population. There is no self-sustaining or continuous element in those schemes. From my own observations—also knowing what has been done by Messrs. Burn's energetic firm at Calcutta—there is ample scope for the sober and industrious youths of this class as artisans and workers in such industries as fitters and mechanical engineers. In this connection it is proper to enter protest, if that shall be needed, against the mistake that was made in the invidious order excluding Eurasians or country-born Europeans from the Engineering College at Roorkee. That was a palpable blunder. The similar enforced exclusion from the Bengal Pilot Service—of which I was not aware—was also a gratuitous mistake. It may be affirmed as a golden rule—one that clears up many perplexities in Indian administration—all classes or race disqualifications must be minimized, and, as rapidly as may be, abolished. The reference to the Bengal Pilot Service reminds me of a proposal embodied several years ago in a memorandum by an experienced Indian naval captain, now Port Officer of Bombay, that a special lighthouse and lightship service might suitably be instituted to be manned chiefly by Eurasians including the Portuguese. The more comprehensive proposals made by Archdeacon Baly (pages 371, 372) should be brought into working shape as soon as practicable. Above all, care should be taken not to induce or invite any European artisans or *employés* to India except under conditions that will enable them to return to Europe after completing the term of their engagement. India is not, and cannot be made, a suitable field for European immigrants. Hence every line of Archdeacon Baly's concluding paragraph is worthy of being recorded as a sort of standing order that should always be present to the minds of all responsible persons whose places and proceedings may bear on the subject of this paper."

The Venerable Archdeacon BALLY then read the following paper :—

I propose in this paper to speak of the present condition of the middle and lower classes of Europeans in India, and of what is necessary for their welfare and future usefulness to the country.

Under the term "Europeans," I include those of mixed descent in whatever degree, as well as those of pure European origin; for convenience sake they are sometimes distinguished as follows :—

1. Pure Europeans, among whom Americans are included.
2. Anglo-Indians: recent settlers of English descent, with a slight admixture of native blood.
3. Eurasians, those in whom the two races are equally blended.
4. East Indians, of a remote European origin in whom the native descent predominates.

If classified with regard to social condition and forms of employment—

The upper class of Europeans consists almost entirely of persons of pure European descent, the civil and military officers of Government, and the wealthy merchants, lawyers, planters and traders. They are not a permanent element of the population, they reside in India only for a certain term of years, and their children are sent to Europe during the period of growth and education, and often remain there permanently. My remarks will not refer to these at all, but only to Europeans, who, whether of mixed or pure descent, live, labour, and die in India, and whose children have the same career. These form the middle and poor classes of Europeans.

The upper section of the middle class includes the higher clerks in Government and mercantile offices, tradesmen, pilots, assistants and superintendents on plantations, and others on incomes not below £200 or £300 a year.

In the lower section of the same class are found the less highly-paid subordinates and clerks in the Government departments, and in mercantile, railway and manufacturing employment, and small tradesmen. For the most part, all the above in both sections are either pure Europeans, Anglo-Indian, or Eurasians, and the proportion of the so-called East Indians among them is comparatively small.

The poor class of Europeans comprise the lowest grades of clerks and *employés* in railway factories, &c., and the great army of the unemployed; both are for the most part East Indian, but the latter include a large proportion of those who either through misfortune or misconduct have fallen out of the other classes.

The total number of the European population of India has, to my knowledge, never been accurately ascertained, but it has been variously computed as between 200,000 and 300,000, it has increased most rapidly during the last quarter of a century, and will probably increase with at least equal rapidity during the next, owing to the great extension of the railway system, and works of irrigation, the opening up of new districts, and the general development of the resources of the country. It has now become a very serious problem how this

indigenous population of India shall be maintained as a self-supporting and profitable community, and aided in their struggle against the two great difficulties they have to contend with—an unsuitable climate, and the competition of the cheaper native labour.

Numerically it may seem that the interests of some 250,000 Europeans are of small concern, when compared with the interests of the 250,000,000 of the native population, but it should be remembered that they are of the ruling race, and the representatives of its qualities brought into the nearest social contact with the natives, that their work is indispensably necessary to the development of the country, that a very large proportion of them are directly or indirectly in the service of the Government, or descendants of those who have been so employed, and that European labour has been drawn to the country to carry out the works which the Government has taken in hand or encouraged; that our Government, though beyond all comparison the best that India has ever had, is still a Government of the alien and the conqueror, accepted as a necessity rather than loved; that the one drop of European blood, and the common Christianity of the poorest East Indian draw him closer to us than interest has ever yet been able to draw either Hindu or Mahomedan, and that in any outburst of the latent elements of dissatisfaction in the native races, it is of the highest importance that the one portion of the population of India, indissolubly bound to us by nationality, religion, sympathy, and interest, should be a manly, independent, intelligent, industrious class. When all this is taken into account no English statesman can consider unimportant, or unnecessary, any measures tending to preserve the indigenous Europeans as such a class, and to save them from sinking to a level of hopeless degradation and pauperism.

So far back as 1860, Lord Canning saw very clearly the danger of this, unless measures were speedily taken to avert it, and expressed his opinion of what character those measures should be in his well-known Minute on the Education of Europeans, from which I cannot do better than quote the following:—"If measures for educating them are not promptly and vigorously encouraged and aided by Government, we shall find ourselves embarrassed with a floating population of Indianized-English, loosely brought up, and exhibiting most of the worst qualities of both races; whilst the Eurasian population, already so numerous that the means of education afforded to it are quite inadequate, will increase more rapidly than ever. I can hardly imagine a more profitless, unmanageable community than one so composed; but a very few years will make it, if neglected, a glaring reproach to the Government, and to the faith which it will,

"however ignorant and vicious, nominally profess. On the other hand, "if cared for betimes it will become a source of strength to British "rule, and of usefulness to India."

Lord Canning here points to the very first step which, in his judgment, ought to be taken in order to make the European in India a self-maintaining and profitable citizen; and his judgment is most entirely right. Education is the first necessity of every European born and bred in India, without which, every other measure is unavailing, for he is excluded from all the occupations which an uneducated man can follow by the competition of natives who can work for a low scale of wages which will not maintain the European; and the only employments open to him that afford a maintenance, demand intelligence, a considerable degree of general knowledge, special attainments, or technical skill, and therefore a good education. *This is to him the first necessity, and the essential condition of an honest livelihood, without which, he has either to beg, steal, or starve.*

The first measure, therefore, in the solution of the problem, How are Europeans in India to be preserved as an industrious and independent class, is to provide education for their children; and the second is to provide employment for their adults. If both of these can be accomplished, the children of the industrious classes will not fall below their parents' condition, and those of the pauper class will rise above it.

To begin with their education. A census, carefully taken in 1874, showed a total of 27,000 of European children of school-going years, excluding children of the upper class who are educated in Europe, and the children of soldiers. It certainly would seem no very difficult matter to provide this number with an education suitable to their conditions of life, for the great majority of them require no more advanced tuition than is given in a high-class board or national school in England, teaching up to the Seventh Standard; and though the children of the upper section of the middle require a higher tuition in geometry, algebra, mechanics and physical science, to qualify them for their future employments, yet they do not need any better education than is ordinarily given in a good English middle-class school.

But that there are difficulties is proved by the fact that of these 27,000 children only 15,000 are returned as under instruction, and the education received by a great part of these is of an inferior quality, as I have tested by the examination of nearly all the schools in the Bengal Presidency. It may be said, therefore, with truth, *that at least one-half of the European boys in India are not receiving an education which will fit them to get their living.*

The causes of this are the following:—

1. A large number of children are scattered over country districts, or in very small stations where no European school can be established.

2. A larger number still is found in stations where, if any school is possible, it must be of a most elementary character, and taught by a poorly-paid and inferior teacher, there being too few children above ten or twelve to render a better school possible.

3. In the larger stations with suitable European schools, a large number of children are unable to attend on account of poverty, or the distance of the schools from their homes, which in the hot season and the rains is a practical barrier to school-attendance for all children without the means of conveyance.

4. The native schools cannot be used by European children. They are—first, at too great a distance generally from the quarter of the city or the station in which they reside; secondly, instruction in them is wholly unsuited to English-speaking children, being given in the vernacular languages, and from vernacular text-books; and, thirdly, European parents have an insuperable dislike based on religious, moral, and social grounds, to the daily association of their children with Hindu and Mahomedan school-fellows, and to their education by Hindu and Mahomedan teachers during the most impressible years of their life.

5. The number of young children left orphans by the premature death of parents, and of children made paupers by reason of their parents being out of employment, either through sickness or misconduct, is abnormally large. But there is neither a poor-law nor education rate to supplement the failure of voluntary efforts to maintain and educate them, and how far these fail is proved by the fact that in every election for free admission into the large orphanages of Calcutta, for one child admitted, seven or eight almost as helpless are rejected.

6. Nearly the whole of the indigenous European population is distributed over the plains of India, which are unfavourable to the healthy growth of European children. They are subject to frequent attacks of fever, diarrhoea and dysentery, and those who do not die in childhood, reach maturity with an enfeebled constitution, unequal to arduous and sustained work and to exposure to the climate. A strong constitution is no less essential to Europeans for employment than a good education. But residence in the plains during the years of growth is the great cause of sickness in mature life, which too often carries off the bread-winner prematurely, or throws him out of employment for long periods together, if not permanently, and thus more than anything else increases the amount of European pauperism among the

old, and helplessness among the young. It cannot, therefore, be too strongly insisted on that *European children ought to be educated in the hills, where they shall have a good climate as well as good schools, for in no other way will it be possible to make European working men in India a self-maintaining class.*

7. The great want of all the European schools in India is trained teaching, only to be remedied by the establishment of a training college; but this does not yet exist in the whole of India, and trained teachers have to be imported from England at a cost prohibitive except to a very few of the larger schools.

It is evident from the above that the *immediate wants are*—more local elementary schools; central free schools for the very numerous orphan and indigent children; cheaper and larger hill-boarding schools; and the general improvement of the teaching staff in all schools. The Government of India has aimed at supplying these by the provisions of the code of education for European schools sanctioned in 1883, which directs that elementary schools shall be opened in all stations where an average attendance of at least twelve European children can be brought together, that central free schools shall be built and half-maintained at the cost of Government in Allahabad and Lahore, that measures lessening the cost of boarding schools should be sanctioned, and that liberal grants-in-aid should be made to pupil-teachers and a training college.

There can be no doubt that if fully carried out the new code will be a very great benefit to Europeans, but, *in order that it may be carried out at all, a much larger amount must be raised by voluntary contributions than is likely to be raised by the European community of India alone.*

Fees cannot be raised above their present level in any class of school without reducing the number of pupils, nor is it probable that the benevolent contributions of the wealthier classes will supply the whole sum required for the establishment and maintenance of schools for the poorer. I do not say that Europeans of all classes cannot afford, or ought not to spend more on European education than they do, yet when judged by the standard of general practice everywhere, they certainly spend as much as, or perhaps more than on the average, men are found to spend elsewhere. No doubt parents of the middle and poorer classes in India could afford larger school fees if they exercised more economy and self-denial, just as the English working classes, with a larger share of these virtues, would need the aid neither of the involuntary rate, nor of the voluntary subscriptions of their betters. Yet the English Government and people, by the Education

Act of 1870, decided to protect the children rather than punish the parents, and the same principle should be followed in India where the European parent of the middle and lower classes, if he does not spend all he can, has at least to spend more, and does spend more on education than the parent in England.

And with respect to the wealthier class of Europeans, it is too small to meet in full all the demands made upon it by the various needs of a disproportionately large poor community. Besides schools and teachers, it has to provide churches and clergy, almshouses and orphanages, regular poor relief, and frequent occasional subscriptions in special cases. The support of Christian Missions, and of a variety of local native institutions falls upon them too, and with all these together the account of European benevolence exhibits a total at least as large as that of an equal number of equally rich men in England. The heavy discounts on all Indian incomes, which do not exist in England, have also to be considered. The insurance against risks from climate, the saving against the certainty of comparatively early superannuation, the expenditure necessary on the score of health and education of children, the loss in exchange on all home remittances amounting annually in many cases to £200 or £300 a year, the frequent changes during the course of Indian service, which are not only the source of serious pecuniary loss, but weaken the stimulus of local attachment and responsibility. These are all necessary first charges on an Indian income, which reduce very largely the amount left free for benevolent purposes, and proportionately lessen the ability of the higher paid officials and the few wealthy merchants to provide a permanent fund large enough to establish and maintain an educational system under which it shall be possible for every European boy to obtain an education qualifying him to get his own living. Without taking into account the establishment of new local schools and the improvement and enlargement of the old, the share falling upon private benevolence, in the Northern Presidency alone, of the cost of maintaining the two central orphanages at Allahabad and Lahore and the training college contemplated by the new code may be estimated to amount to £7200 a year, and I am perfectly sure that it is practically impossible to raise this additional amount by voluntary contributions.

The same may be said for the additional expenditure on European education in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, it cannot be met by the voluntary contributions of the European community alone, and, so far as I can see, this can be done only in one of three ways.

1. By an educational rate on all house property held by Europeans in towns and stations where the voluntary system has not sufficed for its educational requirements.

And this measure I recommended to the Government of India, in order that as small an amount as possible of the cost of European schools might be thrown upon the public revenue, and that the schools should be under local European administration. But the sanction of the Viceroy in Council was refused to it.

2. By the Government taking upon itself the charge of European education as it has taken upon itself the charge of the education of natives.

Under the present inequality of treatment the cost of education in native schools falls almost wholly upon the Government, in European schools almost wholly on parents and others contributing to them. But in the face of the dire necessity of improved education for Europeans in India, of the proved inability of the voluntary system to supply it, and of the refusal of Government of India to sanction an European educational rate, I do not hesitate to assert that as Government provides suitable schools for all classes of natives, it should do the same for all classes of indigenous Europeans, who, living, working, dying, in India, and leaving children to succeed them, are for all practical purposes natives of the country. And this is not only the more humane, but will also be found the cheaper course. Live they must: they can either earn their living, or prey upon society for it, and the cost of schools to train them to earn it by an honest industry, will be less than the cost of maintaining them either in or out of prisons and workhouses as vagrants, paupers and criminals.

3. If neither of these two measures fall within the range of practical politics, and European education must still be left to voluntary effort, then the only possible way in which that can be successful is for the people of England to take part in it and help to raise the necessary funds.

Many thousands of pounds are sent annually from England to India for the conversion of its natives, and surely the duty lies as near to us to send some few thousands for the education of its European children, which is so essentially necessary both for their moral and material welfare. One thing is perfectly plain, their present want of it tends inevitably to their degradation and ruin, and floods India year by year with hundreds of present and future paupers. Some mode of remedy for it must be found. If it is best dealt with by the State let the State take it in hand in no hesitating, parsimonious and feeble way, but as knowing well the evil, and determined at all costs to stay it. If it is still to be left to voluntary effort, the people of England must take their share of the cost. The sure growth of ignorance and consequent pauperism among the Europeans of India is an evil which cannot be endured but must be cured, and I can conceive no fitter aim

of the East India Association than the application of its best thought and endeavours to devise and carry out the means of cure.

I turn now from the education to the employment of Europeans in India; and the first question is, Whether there is a sufficient amount of profitable employment for them, *i.e.*, affording them a suitable maintenance, without either loss to the State, or injustice to native claims and interests?

In my opinion *there is a sufficient amount of such employment available for every able-bodied, sober, industrious, intelligent and honest European in India.*

In 1874, as already stated, the total number of European children of school-going years, and of both sexes, was in round numbers 27,000, it may now be 30,000, which would give a total of about 15,000 boys. The school-age in India begins and ends later than in England, and may on the average be considered to include the ten years between six and sixteen. The annual out-turn therefore of boys, who have completed their school course and are ready for employment, will be 1500, less the reduction for deaths during the school-age. In a country so vast as India, so rapidly developing in every direction, and therefore affording so wide a field for the qualities of energy, enterprise, mechanical skill, and intelligence, in all of which the European excels the natives of India, I cannot think that there is no room for the profitable employment of so small a number of Europeans, under any judicious and impartial system of treatment, notwithstanding the competition of the cheaper native labour. Of course in India, as everywhere else, those who do not possess the necessary qualifications, or have them counter-balanced by grave moral or physical disqualification, cannot find the employment they need. Taking this view, I see no necessity for the novel and extraordinary modes of European employment which have been proposed only on the theory that otherwise Europeans must remain unemployed; and as every effort in the wrong direction injures effort in the right, and ends in disappointment, I will here say a few words on the three proposals most prominently advocated.

The first is that land should be allotted in the hills, and agricultural colonies formed from the many unemployed Eurasians and East Indians of the larger towns. But they are wholly ignorant of agriculture, have neither aptitude nor liking for it, and are essentially a town-bred and town-living class; none who could find only a meagre maintenance by easy head or hand work in a town would prefer even a better one, if earned by manual open-air work in the fields, exposed to sun and rain. The agricultural scheme would only be accepted as a last resource by those who have failed in the town from sickness,

indolence, intemperance, incapacity, and who from the same causes would fail still more signally in the untried, more arduous and distasteful occupation of tilling the soil. The attempt, however, has been made by some benevolent members of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association in the south of India, and the result has been the failure which might have been foreseen, and indeed was foreseen, by all but its too enthusiastic originators.

A second plan was to export the supposed surplus Eurasian and East Indian population to Australia and New Zealand, and communications were addressed to one of the Australian Governments about it. The reply was a very decided but very wise negative. The Eurasian is not likely to be a successful settler in a new land, under any circumstances, but he would fail utterly against the competition of the stronger, hardier and more energetic settlers from Europe, and in Australia his last estate would be worse than the first.

The formation of Eurasian and East Indian regiments was a third scheme. Its advocates asserted that as many as seven regiments could be raised, but an essential condition was that they should receive the same pay and allowances as British troops in India and be treated in all respects like them. This was referred to me by the Government of India for an opinion. My reply was that no Eurasian would enlist as a soldier who had a good character and the prospect of any other employment, that the recruits would therefore be drawn from the unemployed and unemployable—that is to say, from the least capable portion of the lowest class of the Eurasians and East Indians of the large towns, and that though perhaps one regiment might be raised from such, it would include very few men of good constitution and character, and would serve only as a refuge for the destitute. This would be so, in my opinion, even were the pay and allowances and the general treatment of the British soldiers in India promised as an inducement; but an East Indian, who has neither the physical strength nor courage of the British soldier, and enlists only for service in his own country, has no right to expect the pay and allowances which the stronger and braver British soldier, who can be employed in any quarter of the globe, only receives when on foreign service; and it may be considered certain that if a lower scale of pay were offered a very small number indeed of country-born Europeans would be attracted by it. Much stress is laid upon the raising of one or two Eurasian regiments during the critical time of the mutiny, but these were largely composed of the better classes who had been temporarily thrown out of their ordinary employments, and I have been informed that the main cause of their dissolution was the want of recruits when more peaceful times came.

I have spoken more at length on this and the other two schemes, only because they have been so prominently brought forward, but I have always thought them not only inapplicable but unnecessary. It does not look as though India had more European workmen than it needs, when they are still imported every year. *The country has sufficient work for them all if they were only fitted for it; and the true remedy of their condition lies not in the invention of novel and forced modes of employment, to which they have never taken voluntarily, but in fitting them for those, which lie ready to hand, to which they and their fathers have been more or less used, and in which there is a constant demand for good workmen.*

To this I consider that the care and effort of the Government of India should be especially directed, and I will now mention how Europeans may be employed with advantage both to themselves and their employers, and what is required to train them for such employment.

It is true that in all ordinary handicrafts and trades as they are pursued by the natives, Europeans could not earn a maintenance, but in many of them, if they had the skill and perfection of workmen in Europe, they would have little difficulty in earning a sufficient livelihood. Native work is generally so rough, and the demand for better work in all matters connected with house decoration, cabinet-making, furniture, painting, and the like, has become so much more general among the wealthier Europeans and natives, that many hundreds of European workmen might earn as skilled house-decorators, cabinet-makers, painters, upholsterers, &c., their fifty or sixty rupees a month, which is double or treble the sum which now serves as a maintenance in squalor and wretchedness to several thousands of poor East Indian families; but unfortunately very few either possess the requisite skill, or have the means and opportunities of acquiring it, and European work in these trades, being but little better, has no higher remuneration as a rule than native.

Another occupation suitable for the same class, and especially for the orphan and indigent boys of inferior ability educated in free schools and orphanages, for whom there is now considerable difficulty in finding employment, is that of bandsmen, buglers and trumpeters, in native regiments. Before the mutiny many were so employed, and there is no reason why they should not be still employed in the same capacity. In 1879 an inquiry on the subject was addressed by the Government of India to Officers commanding native regiments, and out of the thirty-nine from whom answers were received twenty-nine were in favour of this measure, some of these expressing also the

opinion that Europeans might be advantageously employed not only as musicians, but as farriers and armourers in native regiments. In this way suitable employment could be found for nearly two thousand Europeans of the poorer class.

There is a still larger opening for European working men of a superior and more intelligent class as platelayers and drivers on the railways, as mechanical engineers, foremen and overseers in the Government factories and arsenals, the railway workshops, and in all manufactures and plantations where machinery is used. Hitherto these positions have been largely filled by mechanics imported at considerable cost from England, it being supposed that the requisite physique and mechanical skill are not to be found among the indigenous Europeans; but why should not lads born in India, of English or Anglo-Indian parentage, after being well taught and healthily matured in hill-schools up to the age of sixteen or seventeen, be apprenticed to their trades, take their fathers' places, and save the importation of fresh and costly relays of English mechanics? Their labour would be cheaper in the first place, and in the second, if work is not found for them, they must become paupers; but the constant importation of fresh European labour lessens their present chance of work, and therefore tends to pauperize them in their own generation, while by adding year by year to the number of Europeans, who permanently settle in the country, and augment the natural increase of the community, it becomes a perennial source of a wider pauperism in succeeding generations.

Another occupation already followed very generally by Europeans, especially by the Eurasian section, is that of clerks in Government and mercantile offices, and of subordinates in the several departments of Government service. There is no reason to suppose that this form of employment will ever be closed to them, though they will probably have a greater competition with natives to contend against. This they must prepare themselves to meet, on the one hand by stricter economy to compensate for a possible reduction of salary, and on the other by superior ability and trustworthiness which shall give a higher value to their work.

In some of the Government departments clerkships have been recently thrown open to competition with no distinctions between Europeans and natives; probably this will become the general rule, and it will be necessary not only that the European youth should be as well prepared as the native, but that equal facilities for preparation should be afforded them by the Government. I am fully convinced that ample employment in one way or another would be available for

European lads of the working and lower middle class if they were properly qualified for it.

It is the higher section of the middle class that has the greater reason to complain. Parents in India, as in England, are naturally unwilling that their sons should undertake employments which would throw them out of their class, but all the better paid occupations available elsewhere to men of their class in England, and theoretically open to them in India, are practically closed against them in the latter country by one cause or another. In banks, mercantile offices, and on plantations the higher subordinate posts are generally filled by young men appointed through personal interest from England. It is much the same in the mercantile marine for all positions above that of the ordinary seaman; while in all the higher grades of the civil, medical, telegraph, survey and forest departments, the European youth of India are practically excluded by the regulation that the qualifying or competitive examinations admitting to them can only be prepared for and passed in England. Very few indeed of their parents can afford, in addition to the cost of educating them in India, the much greater cost of sending them to England for two or three years' professional training, even with the certainty of success in the examinations, but still less with the chance of failure.

There is but one exception to this rule, and that affording but little relief. In the Public Works Department eight appointments only have been reserved annually for the students of the Government Engineering College at Roorki, the rest being filled by young men educated at Cooper's Hill College. And even this small boon has been made smaller by the order of 1882, that native students at Roorki, who had obtained a certain number of marks, should take the appointments before Europeans with a higher number, and that the latter should only be nominated to whatever appointments were left vacant after all the qualified natives had been placed. The order is all the more unjust from the proved average superiority of the European students, who, when tested by impartial competition, obtain five or six of the eight appointments. The injustice of this is most keenly felt, and it would have been almost less offensive to exclude Europeans from competition altogether, than to allow them to compete and succeed, yet rob them of the prize.

The Bengal Pilot Service formerly open, was some years ago closed to country-born Europeans on the ground that they had not the general physique and temperament required, and never attempted to face the preliminary training necessary for a licensed pilot. But for a service necessitating a prolonged exposure to a tropical

sun, an Anglo-Indian or Eurasian, who has grown up in a hill school, is, on the score of general physique and temperament, perhaps even better qualified than boys of fifteen and sixteen fresh out from an English training ship, while he certainly cannot be blamed for not facing a preliminary training, when there was no preliminary training given him to face.

Were all such restrictions and disqualifications removed as those that I have mentioned, I consider that there is a sufficiency of employment for the European youth of every class; but that they may obtain it, they must first be made fit for it, and for this their peculiar position in India gives them, in my opinion, a strong claim for a liberal measure of assistance which an English Government should be prompt to recognize.

First and foremost of all *they will need good schools in a good climate, as I have already stated.* Help to maintain these, especially for the poorer class, they may reasonably ask from Government. Suitable native schools are provided by Government for all classes of the native population, and in them native boys receive at an almost nominal cost an education, which European boys have to pay very dearly for, and more often than not cannot obtain at all on account of poverty. The native boy, therefore, starts in the race for employment with a great advantage, and this inequality can only be adjusted by providing European boys with schools equally suitable to them at a cost equally within their means.

Secondly, *they will need schools or colleges, and a well-organized system of apprenticeship in the Government and Railway factories and workshops for their practical instruction as engineers and mechanics.* A beginning has already been made in both these directions. In the Engineering School and College recently opened by the Government of Bengal at Calcutta, between fifty and sixty European youths are being trained as engineers and mechanics. But to the best of my knowledge this is the only institution of the kind in India. The principal railway companies have adopted a system of apprenticeship in their workshops, and the Government has done the same at Ajmir, the chief station of the Rajputana State Railway, but it has not been adopted, so far as I know, in any of the Government arsenals and factories, except at the Madras Gun-Carriage Factory. A more general and better organized system of apprenticeship, and additional mechanical and engineering colleges, would be the greatest benefit to the working class of Europeans in India, for without them the youth born and bred in the country, can never be fitly trained for mechanical employments, and instead of sons following their fathers' trades, and succeeding

to their fathers' places, the constant importation of mechanics from England must still go on.

Thirdly, *an industrial school for practical teaching in domestic trades and arts, decorative painting, cabinet-making, upholstery, &c.,* would open up these occupations to Europeans on a new and remunerative scale. Native convicts are taught in gaols to follow some trade by which they may, if they please, on their liberation, obtain an honest livelihood; so-called schools of art have been introduced for the improvement of native trades and manufactures requiring a higher artistic skill and proficiency; but no institution exists as yet, in India, for the improvement of Europeans in the trades especially suitable and profitable to them.

Lastly, to remove the hardship which Europeans of respectable descent, character, and attainments have to bear in feeling themselves practically shut out from nearly all employment in the higher grades of the public service by the present restrictions, *there should be Indian colleges in which young men, whether of European or native descent, who are able to pay for their own education in them, and have been accepted by Government as morally and socially eligible, should be prepared for and pass the examinations qualifying them for the higher grades in the other departments of the service, as well as in that of the Public Works only.*

Such colleges would be received as a great benefit by both races, and eventually would prove as great an advantage to the public service. Engineers who have passed from Roorki into the Public Works are not inferior to those who have been educated at Cooper's Hill; and in one respect, being acclimatized to India, and acquainted with the people and their language and habits, they are preferable to officers whose first year or two of service are spent in learning the language and habits of the people, and not unfrequently are interrupted by sickness. I believe that in this respect the result would be found the same in other departments; and in other respects too, that the services of officers, whose homes are in India, would be found less costly than of those whose homes are in England.

It is not to be denied that these measures will involve a considerable outlay, but it is an outlay which will be richly recompensed by the benefit resulting from them, not only to the class whose condition they are designed to improve, but to the native population and to the Government. They will infuse through the whole European community a spirit of hope, energy, and self-dependance, stimulate their industry and perseverance, and increase their working powers and usefulness to India. They will check the rapid growth of European

pauperism by drying up its most abundant sources. Every year there will be a smaller out-turn of youths incapable of earning their living, and every year less need to augment by additional labourers from England, the natural increase of the indigenous European population until it becomes largely in excess of the needs of India.

It can be no wise policy anywhere to call in fresh labour, where there is a sufficient indigenous supply that needs only to be trained and utilized, but least of all is this wise with reference to European labour in India. There, at least, there can be no possible doubt that not only will the benefit be greater of every effort made to train and utilize the European labour already in the country, but the outlay will be less, than to let it run to waste, and fill up the gap so caused by annual importations of English labourers whose children and descendants will remain in the country to multiply the nation, but not to increase the joy. For they, having no better lot than the rest, will add to its poverty, not to its wealth, and aggravate and extend the evil of European pauperism, bringing the day nearer when Lord Canning's prophecy is fulfilled, and the Europeans of India shall have become "a profitless and unmanageable community, a glaring reproach to the Government, and to the faith which it will, however ignorant and "vicious, nominally possess."

Mr. J. E. HOWARD (Barrister, of Allahabad): Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—As an introduction to other speakers I may perhaps give a very brief account of my experience of that part of India where this problem upon which the Venerable Archdeacon Baly has written so forcibly, so fully, and so unanswerably, is most pressing, and I may relate a few cardinal facts that have come within my own knowledge. This problem, which is commonly called the "white problem," is not of yesterday, or to-day; but it began, to the best of my recollection, about fifteen or sixteen years ago, so far as the north-west provinces are concerned. The north-west provinces of India, as some of you may not perhaps be aware, consist of a population of nearly forty millions of people. As railways extended throughout this vast province, naturally the number of Europeans greatly increased; then came the question, how these Europeans, many of whom came utterly friendless to this province, were to be dealt with. Within my own experience (and I speak from an experience now of over a quarter of a century in Allahabad itself, the capital of the north-west provinces) the good and true men who were in power there saw that it was necessary that something should be done. A Judge of the High Court, now the

Chief Justice of Madras, Sir Charles Turner, was one of the most prominent to take the matter in hand, and the Allahabad Charitable Association was formed with the aid of other good men and true, and subscriptions were invited, and there was a small nucleus of money set apart for the purpose of dealing with this white problem. A set of apartments was hired near the city, where these unfortunate Europeans used to be housed and fed, and whenever employment could be got for them in the railway workshops they were supplied with employment. Whenever employment could not be got, inquiries were made through the Secretary of that Allahabad Charitable Association in other parts of India where employment could be had, and they were supplied with free passes to those places. I am glad, ladies and gentlemen, to see here two friends of mine, who will I doubt not bear out what I say with regard to this part of India; they are Dr. Pringle and Mr. Atkins, who is the Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants throughout the whole of India; those gentlemen will, I am sure, endorse what I am about to say. I have just cast my eye upon them, and I am very glad to see that they are sufficiently true to that country from their labours in which they are now enjoying a brief respite, to have come here to take a part in this discussion. Well, ladies and gentlemen, to show you that there are some Englishmen true to their country and to their countrymen, whose hearts beat with a warm feeling for those of their countrymen who have fallen beneath the level which they once attained and in which they enjoyed a position, I will mention an instance in connection with this Allahabad Association which is touching in the extreme, and which I think is an honour to a man who is now a mere memory to us, but who once did the noble deed which I am about to relate. There was a man living in the wilds of the Himalayas who is known to us in that country as the Great Shikari, Mr. Frederick Wilson. He made a large sum of money by a contract for railway sleepers; he had not had much education; he was a self-made man, but he had that English energy in him, and that desire to achieve an independence which I think is the spring of all true national greatness in man. He went to the Himalayas, and there by his own untiring industry, he made a fortune by going into the wild primeval forests, and hewing down the trees and becoming a railway contractor. When he heard that the Allahabad Charitable Association was doing this good work, and that it wanted funds—because we published an account of its resources and its expenditure in the Local Gazette—when he heard that this Association for the poor would require assistance, what do you think he did? That

good man sent down in one single cheque £1000, that is to say ten thousand rupees, with a short simple letter to the Secretary of the Association, after this style:—"When I passed through Allahabad twenty-five years ago, a poor European myself, without friends, a perfect stranger in the land, I got assistance in that place myself, which I have never forgotten, on my way towards the Himalayas. I see now that the poor Europeans are themselves in need of assistance, and I send you ten thousand rupees to be placed in your funds, and the interest on which is to go towards the support and help of those poor Europeans." Now, Sir, I say that one instance in my experience, is of great hope and encouragement to us, because we have only to see that large class of independent Europeans in India increase to find others who will follow the bright example set by Mr. Wilson. (Hear, hear.) I am now talking of merely concrete instances; but, ladies and gentlemen, I do not wish to detain you, because I know there are other speakers. I will give you my short experience in a few words, and it is this:—As the Venerable Archdeacon has said, the problem is not intrinsically insoluble; that is a great mistake; it is only insoluble because there is not at the back of it, what would make it easy of solution—viz. that practical interest in it amongst the English people, which would put that pressure upon the Government of India, that would make it solved in one day. I say this without exaggeration, because I have had very varied experience of India throughout all classes, I may say almost throughout all grades, and I know how easily it can be solved, if there is that interest taken in it which would make the Government really take the matter in hand. As the Venerable Archdeacon has said, so far as the Government of India is concerned, we have had amongst our Lieutenant-Governors and amongst our Governors-general, great and good men who felt the necessity for dealing with this question. But there is now a vast change. I am not going to enter into any political discussion, so none of you who may be political partisans need fear that I am going to tread upon any dangerous ground; not at all; but I am going to tread upon ground which I think will be felt to be common ground for us all; it is the common ground upon which alone this question can be solved; it is this:—Within our experience we have seen that the leverage, that is to say the determination of all these great questions which are now awaiting solution in India, has been transferred from India to England. Whether for good or for ill it must be recognized by everyone of us, that when anything that has been put forward in despatches as a proposal is to take shape in practical action, the voice, the pen, the signature that is

to put it into that shape, must come from the Secretary of State for India in Council; it must come from Downing Street; it must come from the vicinity in which we are present at this time; and therefore, like all Government agencies, they deal only with questions which press for solution. Government now covers so wide a sphere that it is only those who are noisiest whose demands are heard first, and whose claims are attended to. It is unfortunately a very unhappy fact to recognize, but I wish you to recognize it to-day, because it is within the power of each of us to give facility and expedition to what has been put forward by our Venerable friend Archdeacon Baly to-day, as *the* question which presses for solution. Now, I wish to mention only one other fact and it is this—(it was just touched on briefly by my friend the Venerable Archdeacon. You yourselves, as practical politicians and statesmen, in your own way, will not require many words from me to show you how important this is):—A commission is now sitting to determine how best to develop India with regard to its railways and canals, and the proposal which has been almost insisted upon is that ten millions annually shall be spent on State railways, so that Indian wheat shall be brought to England, and in fact that India shall be the great wheat supplier of this great country. Now it does not require much imagination for any of us to see that if such a vast amount of money is to be spent annually to complete that network of State railways over the length and breadth of the land in order to feed these great arteries and to bring this vast quantity of wheat from India, the number of Europeans, and therefore of European poor, is sure to increase. I may mention that I myself came from India only two months ago with a gentleman who had been there for the express purpose of seeing all the local governments in the Panjab, in the north-west, in Kurrachee, in Bombay, and in the course of discussing the question with him, he stated that he had then arranged with the Peninsular and Oriental Company for enormous quantities of wheat, thousands of tons, to be brought through that Company; so I say this matter which we are now dealing with is not in embryo; there are mercantile men, men of independence and enterprise, who are now making it a great practical question how to bring the great wheat supply of India to this country. If that be so, just think how this white problem will increase; it will increase enormously, and unless we deal with it as I think we ought to, be sure that this evil will increase in terrible proportions; and let not those who have rather a religious interest in India, and a political interest, than a feeling for their own countrymen, suppose that the European problem in India is one-sided, or that you can cut it off at

one particular point just as you can cut off certain carriages in a railway train. No, that is not the way in which human affairs are dealt with; that is not the way in which nature deals with us; we are all one, and you cannot cut off any particular section of us without injuring the remainder. Let those who have only a missionary interest in India, and who think that by sending European missionaries to the natives they are doing the utmost in their power for their good, and that they will achieve their ends and get to the bottom of this problem, disabuse their minds once and for all. Gentlemen, I assure you I am not speaking with any race prejudice for I am a member of an independent profession whose means come mostly from the natives of India, and I should be untrue to myself as a man if I did not feel the same interest in the natives of India as I do in the Europeans; but I feel, and I feel strongly, that the Europeans are not having a fair field; that they are not only not having no favour, but that really they are the victims of great, though unintentional, injustice; and that they are the victims of that injustice because their countrymen in England will not take that deep interest in them which the powerful should always take in the helpless; and I say it with confidence, that those who look to the conversion of India while they neglect their poor white fellows are encouraging an idle dream, because not once but a thousand times have natives of India said to me when they have seen a poor white in the street an object of degradation and contempt, "Look, there are the 'results of your Christianity.'" That may be a very unjust reproach, but it is a common reproach; this is what the world always does; if a member of any profession does a thing which is disgraceful, and the other members of his profession do not take notice of it and do not help him, and do not remove the stigma, it attaches to that profession itself. If we leave these Europeans in their degradation and will not come to their help, be sure that that stigma will extend itself to our faith, and that not only will we as their countrymen suffer, but the faith which we all love dearer than life will suffer most. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen,—As I am now, I am sorry to say, obliged to keep another engagement, I will ask our friend, Mr. Elliot, to take the chair. Before leaving the chair, I wish to express my hope that the result of this afternoon's proceedings may be some practical resolution to be embodied in a calmly and judiciously-worded memorial to the Secretary of State.

Mr. J. E. HOWARD: Before Sir Richard Temple leaves the

chair, I desire that we should record our sense of his interest in this problem which he has shown by taking the chair on this occasion, by, in anticipation, giving him a vote of thanks. I feel it is a matter of the greatest interest to us as Europeans that persons who have acquired such wide experience as Sir Richard Temple has acquired in India in all the Presidencies, from the Panjab to Bombay, and down to Calcutta, should take part in discussions of this kind. The matter is of such overwhelming interest to us that I know of nothing else that can be weighed in comparison with it; and we should let such persons know that we value them beyond anything else on earth as far as this matter goes—that they are the levers through whom we can work these things; their kind interest in these matters is all-important to us, and the fact that Sir Richard Temple has taken the chair here to-day is a matter of great encouragement to me personally. I hope that others will follow his good example. I beg to move a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Richard Temple for presiding to-day. (Cheers.)

The motion was seconded by Mr. C. W. ARATHOON, and carried with applause.

Sir RICHARD TEMPLE briefly returned thanks; and Mr. R. H. Elliot occupied the chair during the remainder of the proceedings.

Dr. PRINGLE: Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—The gentleman who spoke last told us of his experience as a resident in India from an unofficial point of view, and I hope you will allow me an opportunity of saying a word or two from the official side, and especially from that of a medical officer who has had opportunities of forming an opinion such as few others can have on this very important subject. My experience has not been gathered in vice-regal Simla, or aristocratic Naini Tal, but in simple Mussoorie, where, perhaps, more of the Eurasians and Europeans spoken of in this paper are brought up than in other part of India, and it is there I have had an opportunity of seeing what a vastly important subject this is; and I am perfectly satisfied of one thing, and that is, that the kindest thing England can do to India, if it is not prepared to grapple with this subject, is positively—if not to forbid Europeans going out to India at all—to take no steps to encourage their going. (Hear, hear.) In the old days of Indian Government they tell of an order being issued which required a mercantile firm that imported horses to secure the return of the grooms, or find them some suitable

employment, or lodge the money that will send them, if necessary, to their own country hereafter. Now, this is a very serious question that we are taking up, and I call your special attention to the last page of the paper, where you will find the words of Lord Canning—"Clemency Canning," as he was called—and a fairer name was never given to a human being. In the midst of the difficulties of our position in the Mutiny, God gave him grace to fill that very difficult position in which the Mutiny found him, and he earned the name of "Clemency Canning" by, in the midst of the most stern justice, remembering mercy; and everything, therefore, that comes from him must be regarded as of great importance, especially on a subject like this. He warns us lest a time come when the Europeans in India shall have become "a profitless and unmanageable community," and, he might have added, a dangerous community. They are increasing, and the worst of it is that all the best of them are leaving the country. The best engine-drivers and the best men working in the railway shops are leaving the country. I heard, only a short time ago, of one leaving Saharanpur, an engine-driver, one who always drove an important express train, a man who could be always depended upon, always steady and sober and ready to take up his duties at any time; on being asked why he was leaving a good appointment, he said, "India is not a place for my children to be brought up in," and he left the country and went to Australia. That is where the secret of this mischief lies. Now there are three points brought out in this paper as "possible remedies for the present unsatisfactory state of matters." One is colonization in the hills. Well, the sooner we get rid of that idea the better, because there never can be any such thing as European colonization in the hills or anywhere else in India. I have been for twenty years at Mussooree, and I have had considerable experience. If your notion of colonization is this: that a married man is to take up a bit of ground, and have his sons to help him, and the old adage is to be realized that, "The happier he the more (sons) he has" if only he will wait a little longer; if that is what you mean by colonization, then I say India is not the place for it, for no European can hope to contend successfully as regards labour with the natives of the Himalayas, and certainly never with those in the Plains. As I have remarked to medical officers, when alluding to this subject, you may make as many post-mortems as you like, but you will never be able to settle this subtle difference between the European and native, viz. that a native can work under a tropical sun, nay, at times, bask in the mid-day sun, whereas, when the European attempts to do the same, he is struck

down by the sun, and if he recovers, has to leave India as an electric light mechanic had to do the other day from Baroda, if he hopes to regain his health. We are not indigenous to the country, and as I told a Parsee a short time ago (and which I think I mentioned at the last meeting), "We are the head, you are the hands," and it must be so. I do not know where you are to try this colonization experiment; personally I do not know much about the Madras Presidency or Ootacamund, but I can speak, and speak positively as to the Himalayas and the Dehra Dhoon. I have walked down a hillman after a long walk, but that was along a high ridge on the Himalayas, and all above 7000 feet. Look at the Dehra Dhoon, if anything were to be done by European labour you would think it could be done in the Dehra Dhoon, but it is impossible; you cannot compete at all with the natives. The Venerable Archdeacon suggests trades and certain handicrafts, such as cabinet-making. That I can settle at once. I hope I do not speak too dogmatically or too strongly, because this is an important subject, and it is far better that we should cut away anything like a doubtful platform on which to stand; but when you talk about decoration and upholstery and so on; I think I can speak for most stations in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, that there is no money to buy such things—(laughter)—*tempora mutantur*, and the pockets have got emptied in the change. (Laughter.) Then the Venerable Archdeacon speaks of the proposal to export the supposed surplus European and Eurasian population to Australia and New Zealand. Well, I think more favourably of that; and if this present surplus could be removed to parts of the world where they can find *suitable employment*, it would be most advantageous. Then, as to their formation into regiments; well, speaking plainly (and it is best to be perfectly plain), I do not think in the case of Eurasians the requisite physique is forthcoming to an extent which would hold out any prospect of success under this head. You might take the Europeans and make a separate local corps of the men who pass a certain standard (*and it should be a high standard*) of medical examination, men with a good physique, and make them, after having trained them into good shots (many will want but little training), into a corps of mounted infantry, and with their local knowledge and endurance they would be a very powerful force; but as for drafting them into the army, I think that would be a mistake. Then about the little bugler boys. I knew one of them, poor Macinlay, who only escaped certain death from the mutineers of the 3rd Bengal Cavalry, by hiding under the arch of the bridge over the Aboo Nullah at Meerut, but before he thought of himself, he saved the lives of his officers, among whom was Colonel, then Lieutenant Webster,

by warning them to avoid the Begum's bridge, as he had overheard the troopers say they would guard that bridge and kill the Sahibs if they tried to get into the European cantonments that way. Well, a few of these boys may be of use that way, but the Government have effectually stopped secret and wholesale hatching of treason by putting in a variety of castes into the regiments and companies. But, ladies and gentlemen, believe me, the importance of this subject it is impossible for me to over-estimate. (Hear, hear.) Talk of local self-government, the subject discussed at the last meeting! Well, if that is of vital importance to our native fellow-subjects, this is of equal importance to the European subjects of the Queen in India, and I hope Dr. Leitner has heard of the sudden collapse of the attempt to start local self-government in Delhi, one of his pet places in the Panjab. Here the latest news states that the Government have been obliged to postpone passing that measure *sine die*, because the antipathies between the Mohammedans and the Hindus are so great—as if they are likely to be able to name a time when this antipathy will cease! I repeat, this is a most important subject, and I assure you it is with very great pleasure that I see my friend Mr. Howard here speaking as he has done, and Mr. Atkins. They represent a great interest, and I do trust that whatever is decided upon here there may be no half measures. As to what the Venerable Archdeacon says about the Roorkee examinations, the picture is not overdrawn. Let me read you what *The Pioneer* says on the 2nd January last:—"From the results of the examination for entrance "to the Engineer Class at the Thomason College, Roorkee, it appears "that out of twenty-one candidates sixteen have qualified in all "subjects, and have, therefore, the option of entering the college on "the 1st of May, 1884. Altogether six Europeans or Eurasians pass, "as against ten natives, and their chance of employment under "Government may be gauged from the following official notification: "It must be clearly understood that only four appointments to the "public works are guaranteed in 1886"—(a hopeful prospect indeed!)"—"and that Asiatics who have been born and educated elsewhere than in the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal, have "prior claim to these appointments"—(I am not quite sure where these people are to be born; there is a little ambiguity about that)—"also that the Government can hold out no hope whatever of "employment in the Public Works or any other department to any "student of the Engineer Class who shall fail to obtain one of these "appointments." A hopeful prospect truly for the Roorkee student! And as regards this class of people, I can positively state that the

European has no chance of competing against the native, owing to the reductions in salary and the late orders of the Government on the subject. It is far better that we should look the thing straight in the face. There was a pensioned Deputy-Collector who had educated his sons for Government service like that which he had held, but he told me he had to accept a clerkship in a brewery for one on Rs. 50 per mensem. Now in this case the sons were well-educated, and the father had practised the greatest self-denial to secure a good education for his sons, and now in his old age he feels the Government have not dealt with him as a long and faithful service gave him some claim to expect. Well, it is not that we want to be hard on the natives. I have served thirty years in India, and have ample proof that the natives know me and will not charge me with doing that which would be unfair to them. I may say that I started a *voluntary* scheme of vaccination among them in the Agra and Meerut Division, and now Syed Ahmed Khan of Alighur has carried through the Council a compulsory vaccination law, which has been extended to Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, under certain conditions. This will show, I think, that I must have known something about them, and they must have had some confidence in me. It was Sir George Cooper himself, I think (speaking under correction), who at one of the meetings of the High Schools at Allahabad, said that he hoped there would be some higher ambition among the young men in the school than simply to occupy the desk of a clerk. But wherein was this ambition to lie, and at what was it to aim? In the police? No. The door is shut and fastened by a Chubb's lock, and there seems no way of getting in. Yet that is just the place where active Europeans are wanted. Who are the two best European police-officers in the North-West Provinces and Oudh? If we may judge by promotion and the nature of the duties on which they are often deputed, I fancy they are to be found among those who did not enter the Police Department through the army; as they were never in the army. Then how did they come in? In one case that I know of, *the necessities of the Government in the time of the Mutiny*, they had to push their way up, and they have pushed it up by downright honest and faithful work to the high position they now hold. Now, who are the superior subordinate police-officers in many large cities? The answer is in numbers superior to relative proportion to the Hindu undoubtedly Mohamedans. Well, it is a principle of the Mohamedan religion to serve their religion *first*, whenever there is a doubt on the subject, and what is the consequence? There was scarcely a mosque or "place of prayer" in India where public prayers were not offered for the

success of Arabi Pasha, and I know of one place in particular where this occurred, and the police were there at the time ; but nothing was reported of it. I mentioned this to the superior officer myself when he doubted the statement, and added, "Why one of your senior "subordinate Mohamedan officers was there at the time," and remarked that though they were government servants, they were Mohamedans also and servants of the prophet, and their co-religionists were safe from any report by them. It is specially selected trustworthy Europeans that are wanted in the Police, and the time may come when their absence will be felt and cannot be supplied. As I said before, if something is not to be done, better it would be, and a kinder thing to say to those asking for advice on the point, Do not go out to India at all. (Cheers.)

Mr. F. T. ATKINS : Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—I am very glad to be here to-day, and I am also glad to be able to say that there is a feeling existing among Englishmen in England on this subject. It has been my very good fortune to be able to be present at some meetings recently where hundreds have been in attendance. Last Tuesday I chanced by privilege to be at one where there were eight hundred sturdy north countrymen present, who fully agreed that this was a most important question, interesting not only to the people of India, but also to the people in England. They understand it from the point of view the Venerable Archdeacon has shown us in his paper. The English artisan or engine-driver who may go out to India at the present time under an agreement with the Secretary of State for service on the State railways there, or in other of the industries that the State has established, go out at a salary at which it must take them a great many years to ensure their obtaining anything like a sufficiency to return to England, and enjoy their old days in comfort. If they commit the crime (for crime it almost appears to be) of marrying and having children in that country, and spend sufficient to give them a fair education, their resources are gone ; and, after all, there is no opening for their children, the future is a hopeless blank. I speak, gentlemen, from twenty years' experience in India, a very large proportion of that experience being on Indian railways ; I commenced my life in India as a fireman on a railway, and served in various capacities on railways for over ten years. There is not a railway in India I am not acquainted with, and know the condition and views of the men employed upon them. I took up this subject in 1876, not as a party question, not as an English question solely, but because I believe that unless more consideration is

displayed for the poor Europeans in India, and the privileges allowed natives by the Government are extended to them, a very bitter race feeling will be created. English working-men that are in India feel as much sympathy for the natives of that country as many Englishmen in England do; and the organization which Mr. Howard has been pleased to tell you I am connected with is thrown open for admission to the natives of the country the same as it is to Europeans. The European working-men are desirous of benefiting their dusky fellow-subjects just as much as they are desirous of benefiting themselves. Therefore when I speak of these matters I trust that you will not think that I wish to advance the interests of one class or race at the expense or to the injury of another class or race. I do maintain this, that the subject that is before the meeting is a most important one. Your countrymen, and the descendants of your countrymen, who are domiciled in India, are not receiving fair play, and it is that fair play, those equal rights, that they ask, and that they feel they are justified in asking. They do not ask for anything more than that. They say, and I think they say very fairly, Give us the same privileges that you afford to natives in the country; you do not give us the same advantages in the matter of education; we are excluded from the Inland Customs, we are excluded from the Police Department, we are practically excluded from the training college at Roorkee, which was instituted for us as well as for the Asiatic subjects of Her Majesty; we are excluded, as the Venerable Archdeacon has already told you, from the Bengal Pilot Service, where in years gone by some sixty of us served with honour and credit, and some of us rose to the highest branches of the profession, and we are almost entirely excluded from the uncovenanted services. What hope is there really for these people if they are to be excluded from all appointments, and if there is no education whatever given to them. It has been said by the Government of India, in fact it was said by the present Viceroy in reply to a memorial I sent to him myself on this subject, and to which attention has been drawn this afternoon, regarding the importation of labour into India, that there was an insufficiency of skilled and unskilled European labour in India to meet the requirements of the various railway services. Now, Mr. Chairman, it so happens that the association with which I am connected has gained some degree of popularity owing to the very excellent character of its members, and as a consequence, when officials belonging to some of the various railways required men, they very frequently send to me to obtain them. During the Afghan war, when a large amount of labour was required for service on the railways in Northern India, I received

among other communications applications from the superintendents there asking me to send men. I did send them until they told me to stop, and in fact said that I had sent actually more than were required. I mention this as an answer to the statement made in the reply to my memorial to the present Viceroy. Shortly after the Afghan war was over, the railways I had supplied found they had more men than they required to work their lines, and a reduction took place; several were dismissed, but the best men were, of course, retained—and they were good men, too, very good men; in fact the superintendent of one particular line in the north of India said he believed he had got the flower of the railway men in India. About six or eight months (I cannot be sure to a month or two) after the Afghan war was over, a number of men were imported into India from England, and most of the other men, who had such exceptionally good characters, were dismissed; they were thrown out of employment, and had to get their livelihood as best they could; some of them, to my certain knowledge, though they were good men, were seven months out of work before they could get anything to do. It is not fair that any Government should act in a manner that will tend to pauperize its subjects. If we are to govern India wisely and well, we must pay some attention to all classes and all grades, no matter whether they be black or white; we must be fair and impartial to all of them. This arbitrary treatment presses very hard upon your countrymen and their descendants; there is a feeling beginning to rise that they are not rightly treated.

The CHAIRMAN (MR. ROBERT H. ELLIOT): May I ask why those men were discharged?

Mr. ATKINS: To make way for the men brought out from England.

The CHAIRMAN: But what was the reason why these men were dismissed?

Mr. ATKINS: Because the State could not afford to keep them and the men from England; they would have more men than they actually required.

The CHAIRMAN: But how came it about that they wrote for more men?

Mr. ATKINS: That is what I cannot understand.

The CHAIRMAN: That would be very important for the meeting to understand.

Mr. ATKINS: That is a mystery; no one can understand that. I may mention that this action of the Government was petitioned against; it was owing to these men being dismissed that the petition I alluded to was sent up to the present Viceroy; but we never could get a satisfactory reply, and no one knows to this day; but of course we naturally assume that the men were dismissed to make way for those that were brought from England.

Mr. HOWARD: If my friend, Mr. Atkins, will excuse me one moment, I think he is so intent upon his argument that he does not quite follow the drift of the Chairman's question, and as there are a great many people here to whom it would be of the greatest interest to bring out the point, perhaps I may be allowed to suggest the answer to Mr. Atkins. If I am right, he can confirm me, and if not, he can correct me. The point, Mr. Chairman, is this: that the Government of India, during the Afghan war, when a very sudden emergency arose, really wanted men very badly indeed, and were glad enough to apply to Mr. Atkins, as the Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, to get the cream of what India could supply. When the emergency was over, and they thought they could economize their expenditure by getting other men from England, they dismissed the older men and put in their places the men they brought from this country. Is that right, Mr. Atkins?

Mr. ATKINS: Yes, that is perfectly right. But as no economy was effected, the treatment the men engaged in India received cannot be characterized as fair or honourable, and the fact that after their dismissal they could not obtain employment for months disposes of the assertion made by Government, that there is insufficient skilled and unskilled European labour in India for the requirements of the country. But facts, when embodied in petitions submitted by Europeans in India to the Government, do not receive the attention they deserve. I sent a memorial to Lord Northbrook when he was Governor-General of India; several thousand signatures were attached to it. It reviewed the question we are now discussing, and contained several suggestions; it was also accompanied by a census of all the unemployed men, at least so far as I could ascertain the number, throughout India; but I am sorry to say that it met with the fate that petitions generally meet with—it was merely acknowledged, and that

was all we ever heard of it. This disregard for their grievances, and the treatment their petitions have received, is considered by the petitioners, to be grossly unjust. Their grievances have been intensified, and when men have a real grievance and are brooding over it, as these people are, some redress must be afforded, for it is not wise to allow that condition of things to continue. We know very well that there is sometimes danger in it, and I will venture to say that if there is not some redress afforded for the grievances which the descendants of domiciled Englishmen in India labour under, there may be something unpleasant arise. It is quite possible, it is quite in the natural order of things: Now, with reference to the readiness of these men to work when they can obtain employment, I may mention here, that some twelve months ago, before I left India, a vacancy existed for a guard on the Madras Railway. The Government of India had for some time past been urging this particular railway to employ more natives, and as the salary attached to the vacancy was only Rs. 20 per month, or taking the par value of the rupee, only ten shillings per week, it may be thought that few Europeans would be found among the applicants. Not so; there were no less than two hundred European applicants for the situation. That shows that the people we are talking about to-night are ready and willing to work if they can get work to do. I am connected with a printing establishment where we have a number of these people, who are employed at low salaries, successfully competing with native workmen. In the town of Madras you will find men ready to work for eight and ten rupees a month, and glad to get the work to do, but the Government has, by a series of resolutions, excluded them from the advantages it gives to natives. The native who desires to undergo a course of study in England receives from the Government a free passage to England and back to India with a subsistence allowance. These advantages are not obtainable by the son of the poor European. This is a question that concerns every Englishman, because, unfortunately, I am afraid that unless we get British public opinion on our side very little indeed will be done. I venture to say this, because in a recent interview I had with the official who controls Indian affairs, I asked him if there was any likelihood of either him or his Council considering this subject. I said, "Do let me send out word to these people that their condition and their grievances will be discussed, and that some consideration will be shown to them;" and the reply that I received I shall never forget as long as I live; it was this: "I will not hold out a hope that will never be realized." Although I was not born in India, I have lived long enough there to feel for these people, and the thrill that

passed through me at the time I cannot describe. I was glad to see Sir Richard Temple here to-day, because he was the first president at the inauguration of the Anglo-Indian Association, and presided over that Association when it met at Calcutta. I was glad to see him here, and I feel sure that the kind words that he expressed this evening will not rest in mere utterance, but that his sympathy will be practically displayed, so as to convince the poor Europeans in India that there is after all really some hope for them. (Cheers.)

Mr. HYDE CLARKE: Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,— Apart from the powerful statement made by the venerable gentleman who has addressed the meeting, my attention has been attracted by the description that was given by Mr. Howard, from Allahabad, and by Mr. Atkins, from Delhi, of the Friendly Associations. In *The Times* to-day you will find something in reference to that help which the Archdeacon seeks for carrying out his purpose. You will find a leading article and a description from *The Times* correspondent in America of a meeting which is to be held in Chicago of a convention which is called of the St. George's Societies of Canada and the United States. The description which has been given of the working of the Associations in India is identical with that of the working of the Associations which have been established on the North American Continent for about one hundred years for the assistance of poor Englishmen. However, there, instead of being simply in the nature of chance, eleemosynary institutions, they are strictly national institutions; they are all called St. George's Societies, for the purpose of keeping up and evoking an English feeling. Now I take it that in India, though there are the St. Andrew's Societies and the St. Patrick's Societies, there is nowhere, not even in the Presidency of Fort St. George at the present moment, any permanent or temporary commemoration on the 23rd April, St. George's Day, of English national feeling, or more properly, of the common nationality of English, Scotch, Irish and English-speaking people. I know the difficulties of this matter, because I represent here not only that large Association on the North American Continent as the Corresponding Secretary, but I happen to be Chairman of the St. George's Society we have here. We shall be very glad to assist our friends in India in the same way that we are assisting Lady Jane Taylor in the matter of the Women's Emigration Society in connection with H.R.H. the Marchioness of Lorne. There must be a cultivation of English feeling, and when I say English feeling understand me to mean it in the pure sense of the section which is seated in the sovereign

part of this island. We have begun now to understand the phrase which has become familiar to you, that we are no longer to speak of Anglo-Saxons, but we are to speak of a common nationality of English-speaking people, whether of one race or another, whether born here or elsewhere, whether Siberians, Hindoos, Parsees or Anglo-Chinese — of the hundred millions who speak the English language throughout the world. It is by adopting the same organization as that adopted by our friends on the North American Continent that it appears to me we may in one shape (not neglecting any others) promote the objects which the Archdeacon has laboured for for so many years. Mr. Atkins, I dare say, has felt the want of it; he feels it here. Whatever may be the wants of those in India, it is (unfortunately perhaps rather than fortunately) by making an impression on public feeling in this country that we must accomplish our objects. With regard to the general question, I might have been induced to speak more at length if time had allowed. I believe it is from my Report, a generation ago, in conjunction with Colonel Whitham, on the Electric Telegraph system in India, in the time of the old Company, that the government of India is enabled to be carried on from the Hills. In 1858, I obtained through the late William Ewart a Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into Hill Settlements in India. That committee, on the evidence of all the great statesmen who ruled over India, enforced the principle which has been brought out by the Venerable Archdeacon, viz. that every means should be adopted for utilizing the healthy climates of the Hills in order to maintain in a good condition the European population of India. At one time, before I myself went to the East, I obtained from the Government an admission that one-fifth of the European troops should be placed in Hill cantonments; you know, however, the outcome of that: the cantonments were never built, and the consequence is that a measure so easy and so simple has never been carried out. As to the remarks of Dr. Pringle, I think it hardly necessary to say one word in exculpation of myself in that respect; neither I nor any sensible man ever proposed to put into any part of India English Colonies in the sense that we have Colonies in Australia or Canada. Many of us have at times thought that if the army were to a great extent quartered in the Hills it would not only benefit India by our troops being in a better condition, physically and mentally, but that it would tend to foster the agricultural, pastoral, forestry and commercial activity of those parts. I was enabled last year before the Statistical Society to give a quarter of a century's report on the progress which had been made. My learned friend who comes from

Masoorie perhaps gave us too unfavourable a picture, I mean judging from his own experience of his own region; but I think if he were to take in the whole range of what he calls the Hills, and look at tea-planting—that is one item—and further, look at the commerce with the countries beyond his range, he would see that even the Hills have resources which are capable of being turned to some greater account even than now. The subject is one of the greatest importance. We must all regret that Sir R. Temple has left without speaking; he has dealt with this subject in another shape, and he has placed it on its right footing. We are in India, it is true, as conquerors; but historically India for ages and ages before history has been under the dominion of conquerors as now. Many a wild hill tribe long subjected represents some former sovereignty. Our position is that, we have done more than all of them to give peace, prosperity and freedom to India as against those conquerors who had devastated the country, and would, had they the chance, devastate it still. It is not necessary to enlarge upon that, but it is perhaps necessary in these days when we hear such unhistorical nonsense as “India for the Indians,” when there are no Indians in such a sense. (Laughter.) India is an accumulation of dissimilar and hostile populations in a vast region and not an undivided nationality. It is time that we should ask some fair play and some fair reward for our own countrymen, who are carrying out for India and for us that work in the progress of civilization. (Cheers.) It certainly is desirable if it could be done that an appeal should be made to the people of this country, if only for one thing, to give the descendants of our poor fellow-countrymen in India, in common with every native who so desires it, the opportunity of learning that greatest of living languages which is their heritage, and which is in itself one of the mighty instruments of culture and civilization, a title to fraternity with the citizens of the free nations, and a potent means of promoting political liberty and the highest morality. (Cheers.)

Captain PFOUNDEN, F.R.G.S.: Mr. Chairman,—I think it would be of interest to the Venerable Archdeacon and those who are so fortunate as to have heard his able and interesting paper if I made it known that it is not such a very difficult matter, as many suppose, to stir up public opinion in England; Mr. Atkins has had experience of that, in the provinces especially; and I can speak more particularly about London, that since these Indian questions have come before the public, there has been no lack of interest; and audiences, not exclusively of the educated or upper classes, but of genuine workingmen—not only Conservative, but also Radical and Liberal—have been

thoroughly astounded when the bare facts have been brought before them, even when couched in the most moderate language. If a crusade was well-organized by gentlemen thoroughly well up in the subject, and able to go before an audience of intelligent, hard-headed working men and other classes in this country, and put before them the actual facts of the position of Englishmen, and descendants of Englishmen, in India and the East beyond the Ganges, it would lead to something like fair justice and fair play being done to our countrymen abroad. I speak on this matter feelingly, and very strongly, because some of the best years of my life have been spent in the far East, doing my best to promote the interests of the natives for whom I toiled, and thought, and now speak and write on behalf of. There is no one more alive than I am myself to the position of the natives in regard to this question, and that also of our own countrymen. No one can deplore more than I do the fact that many of my own countrymen, with whom I have been in contact with abroad, have given very considerable groundwork for many of the complaints which are made. But notwithstanding this, there is still the fact, that we cannot put the European beneath the Asiatic: were we to do so we should affect the whole basis of intercourse, of credit, and commerce, and the best interests of this country. Residents have already to contend with numerous real dangers and difficulties in Eastern countries, and if to them be added greater dangers, in consequence of the way in which matters are now drifting, I can assure you that it will end in the utter ruin of our Indian and far Eastern trade. This matter is of the utmost moment to people here at home, not only to investors and capitalists and manufacturers, but it will also come home to those horny-handed sons of toil, who are just now so much be-petted and patted on the back, because it will affect their earnings in a very great measure. If this paper produces any impression practical steps should be at once initiated to enlighten the bulk of the voting-power of England on these questions, and our Indian fellow-subjects will consequently have something like a chance that a meed of justice will be accorded to them eventually.

Mrs. ROBERT CLARK (Umritsar, Panjab): Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—I am much interested in this subject, and I have always felt that we have quite as important a work to do among the poor whites and East Indians as among the natives. I have had a great deal to do with these people in the Panjab, and I set apart rooms in my house for the purpose of taking in poor Europeans in destitute circumstances. Many such cases I was able

to shelter and get work for; I remember one poor fellow who had lost his wife, and was himself in a dying state, walked all the way up from Lucknow to Umritsar with his little girl, a baby, in his arms, saying, that though he only knew me by name, he should die happy if he might put his child in my care. I have had constantly brought home to me the sad position of the poor women and girls. There are attempts at station schools here and there, but as a general rule East Indian and European girls are too poor to pay for any education, and those whose parents are not utterly indifferent are sent to the convents, where they have little or nothing to pay, and where the teachers can afford to teach gratuitously. But convent education and voluntary efforts do not nearly provide for the educational needs of this ever-increasing class. No doubt the two Martiniere schools, the Mayo and Bishop Cotton's school at Simla, are doing noble work, but we could fill many more such institutions by drafting into them the hundreds of neglected children who swarm in the bazaars and outskirts of our stations, and live in close and debasing contact with the lowest class of natives and camp-followers. At one time I helped Mrs. David Ross, of Lahore, in the Railway School she has established at Mussoorie, and I had much opportunity of noticing and deploring the sad influences to which these "English" children were exposed when the parents could not give needful care and supervision. I have this matter very much at heart, and I shall be glad to aid in any way in my power, either by lecturing or writing, in awakening public opinion to practical and intelligent effort in educating and opening out means of livelihood to the children of Anglo-Indians and East Indians who have indeed a "bitter cry" against the neglect and indifference of years, which have fostered idleness and dependence among a community which is capable of better things. I am perfectly agreed with Mr. Howard that the present state of things does not commend Christianity to the natives, and that in common justice as well as self-interest we are bound to consider the wants of our poorer brethren and fellow-Christians.

Dr. PRINGLE: Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—I can quite endorse what has been said by the lady who has just spoken, and I am particularly glad that a lady, so well-qualified from practical knowledge and personal observation to speak on the subject, has given to the people of this country, through this meeting, such a faithful picture of the condition of the poor European women, who either now are, or may hereafter be, the subjects of this "European Pauperism." The lot of the vast majority of these poor women is

indeed a hard one, and though a certain amount of this misery may be due to improvident habits, yet by far the greater portion of it is due to circumstances over which they have no control, such, for instance, as their husbands by reduction being put out of employ, with nothing, in too many cases, but what is in the house, and a few months' salary, in the form of gratuity, to meet, it may be, not weeks, but months, or even a year, the trials of being out of employment. I have known Europeans in India reduced to such a state of poverty that when I have been attending the mother of a family, at a time when comfort was wanted, the discomforts were so great that I myself caught a very sharp attack of rheumatism, owing to unavoidable draughts and exposure. So you will understand to what conditions they are often reduced. But if the mother's lot is hard, that of the children as regards their future prospects is harder, and when we think how much of the future of these children depends upon their early rearing, one ceases to wonder at the sickly children one meets with in the plains, and how it can be otherwise than that they should soon swell the numbers of European paupers. To relieve this present distress and future misery one should see the happy, healthy children in the Railway School at Fair Lawn in Mussoorie, collected by that good and kind-hearted lady, Mrs. Ross, who is an honour to womanhood for her labours on behalf of the poor children in the Railway Barracks on the Scinde, Panjab and Delhi Railway; and while the accommodation at Fair Lawn should be greatly increased, I cannot help feeling that every railway company in India should have a similar school in the Hill station nearest to their Central Offices—and every facility afforded for the conveyance of these children, from the stations in Central India over other than their own lines, as everything which tends to improve the health and physique of these children most certainly reduces the risk of their adding hereafter to the European pauperism in India. To any one who has noticed the rapid improvement in health witnessed in the case of these children, after even a short stay at this Hill school at Mussooree, the wonder will be, how it is that the Scinde, Panjab and Delhi Railway is the only large Railway Company which avails itself of the benefits and advantages so near at hand. While speaking to a member of the Indian Council a short time ago on the subject of Hill stations, I remarked that from my twenty years' experience of the Hill station of Mussooree and the Convalescent Depôt of Landour, as also of the Military Hill station of Chuckrata. I was perfectly satisfied that India could be as securely held, with half the number of European troops, if their physical condition was

improved, and the climate, and hence beneficial effects of the Himalayas taken advantage of to the full, and I may add that, while we are doing what we can to carry the wheat to the seaboard by railways, we were neglecting what was of far more importance, carrying the European troops to the Hills,—not as we are now doing, viz. taking a few, very few of them there in April, and leaving them till October, because there was no transport service suitable for troops in the hot and rainy weather, and yet one-half of the convalescents at a Hill station got all the benefit they were likely to get in the first two months of their stay; and while others might have been sent to benefit by the change, this difficulty of transport steps in, and those in the Hills must remain there, and it may be lose in health, while those in the plains, if they survive the hot and rainy seasons, will have fully qualified for the invaliding committee at the end of the year, and thus soldiers are lost to India, who might, with care, have been saved for further service; leaving out of the question the men thus sent home to Britain to add to those requiring State support. The last Afghan war showed what a British Regiment resident for a year in the Hills can do, as also how those sent from the sickly stations of the plains, who, with the desire to work, wanted the physical power to do it, and thus rapidly fell victims to disease and exhaustion. To say troops cannot be moved in the hot and rainy season, is to forget India was won in 1857 during that time, and a system of Military Railways to the Hills, *under careful supervision*, would admit of troops being moved at any time either to the Hills or from them to the plains in the case of emergency, and what was applicable for troops, was equally so for the Europeans in railway employ.

Mr. R. F. CHISHOLM (P. W. D., of Madras): Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—I have worked with natives, Europeans and Eurasians, and I can safely say that the Europeans and the Eurasians will never hold place against the natives until they are properly educated, as suggested by Archdeacon Baly. Take for instance any common handicraft; the native boy is apprenticed to his father from the time he can take a hammer in his hand. By the time he is ten years old, he is a very fair workman, and at twenty he is an experienced man. The unfortunate Eurasian or European on the other hand, up to the age of fifteen, has been picking up some scanty technical education wherever he can; and usually at that age he has to compete with this native youth who is already a trained artizan, and even if the European or Eurasian were clever, and able and willing to learn, where could he gain technical education in India? There are no Europeans

there capable of teaching handicrafts as they are practised here in England, and unless they are practised in India with equal perfection, there is little chance that they will hold their place against importations. There is no reason whatever why it should be so. If you educate the European in India as he should be educated, it would at once stop importations. But I cannot help thinking myself that it is to the interest of England that the arts and manufactures of India should *not* progress. (Laughter). I cannot understand the present position unless we come to such a conclusion. I have been in India for twenty-five years, and during the whole of that time I know that the Supreme Government, the Local Government, and indeed every one connected with Government in India, earnestly desire to encourage the art and manufactures of India in every possible way; and yet what is the result—what are the actual facts? I will explain the position to you as well as I can by giving you facts connected with the South of India with which I am well acquainted. Sir George Birdwood published a very valuable book on the arts and manufactures of India. In that book we have illustrations of two of the principal arts in the south of India, the Madura historical pottery and the Tanjore metal-work. Being anxious to possess articles so unique and so beautiful, I visited Tanjore and Madura; I made all inquiries at the latter place about this art, which Sir George Birdwood illustrates in his book, and I could not get a single article. The art had died out completely: there was not a man there manufacturing anything of the kind. Disappointed I went to Tanjore, for, said I, at least I will obtain some metal-work; after some considerable difficulty I got a piece of metal-work, and I had to wait three months, during which five men—you can count them on the fingers of one hand—were producing this specimen of an art which was to astonish the world. Now these are not, mind you, experimental arts; they are the “indigenous arts of the country.” To quote Sir George Birdwood’s own words: “they are the arts handed down from father to son through countless generations, and applied “with that unerring skill which only traditional art can give!” (Laughter.) Now, here is the Government doing everything it can, and expending money freely, to foster the very thing which is languishing and perishing before its eyes! There must be something wrong somewhere. Where is it, and what is—that something? I think I know where it is, and what it is, but being a Government servant I have not that liberty of speech which an outsider would have; I would at least venture to hope that the policy which has been pursued by the advisers of Government for the last ten or fifteen years in the arts and manufactures of India may receive attention, and that they

may pause and consider what it is leading to in the face of the facts I have narrated ; they certainly are not encouraging the arts and manufactures of India. When you actually succeed in doing this you will open up a field for all your labour in India, and you can employ not only all the Europeans in the country, but ten times that number ; at the same time it must never be forgotten that every plate made in India, every yard of cloth manufactured in India, means one plate less, and one yard of cloth less exported from this country. (Hear, hear.)

The Venerable Archdeacon BALY in reply said :—Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—I do not think I have very much to say in addition to what I have already said in the course of the paper. The gentleman who spoke immediately after me seemed to give the same advice to people about to go to India, as *Punch* gave to those about to marry—"Don't." (Laughter.) I certainly re-echo that word. I should never advise an ordinary European workman who was earning at all decent pay in England to think that he would better himself by going to India. The pay certainly appears to be much larger, but the expenses of European life in India are much larger too, and when he marries he lands himself in a great many difficulties and responsibilities with respect to the health, education and employment of his children, from which he would be comparatively free in England. But while acknowledging that the European is not well placed in India, we must also acknowledge the fact that there are now some hundred thousand Europeans of all sorts in India, and that they are likely never to be fewer, so far as one can see, for many years to come. Therefore, without any useless questioning as to whether it is good for them to be there or not, the fact we have to deal with is that they are there, and that their condition is such as I have described it. What is to be done with them? The only remedies I see are those two I have proposed : that they should be well prepared by education in good schools in the Hills for employment, and that they should be employed not partially or in disregard of others, but in due regard to the value of their work, to the difficulties of their position, as Europeans compelled to settle in a country the climate of which is unsuited to them, and to their claims as Englishmen who may be trusted as faithful citizens in the most confidential departments of Government service. I consider that the Government, so far as is possible, should strive to lighten the disadvantages under which they are living in India, and place them on an equality with the natives of the country in the facilities for obtaining employment sufficient to

maintain them. If I am asked what is the first step to be taken in reference to this ; I answer, to educate them in such a manner as to fit them both in mind and body for such employment. Give them a fair start and a fair field. That is all I want for them. It is what is being done in England for the children of the working classes. The country spares no money whatever in educating them in order that they may grow up sober, industrious men, instead of wasters. That is what we should do for Europeans in India. If the Government will not do it—I think they ought to do it—but if they will not, then I call upon the humanity of Englishmen to do it in their stead. (Hear, hear.) It is of no use to meet either here or anywhere else and discuss and talk over grievances in this way unless we put forward our hands to help them. We can help them by appealing to the Government. I do not know whether that will do immediate good, because Government, as we know by experience, is slow to move in matters of this kind ; it requires frequent and long-continued applications, and takes much time to consider before it does anything, and the evil to be removed goes on all the while increasing. But while we do all we can in urging this matter on the attention of Government, there is something we can all do ourselves at once—help with our own hands and purses. Now we have a kindred association to this, in its object of benefiting the working classes of Europeans in India, although it is of a more definitely charitable and religious character ; we call it the Indian Church Aid Association, of which lately I have been Secretary, and one of our great objects is to elicit from people in England contributions and subscriptions to the establishment and maintenance of schools for Europeans in India. In that I hope we may be more or less successful, but the attendance at this meeting to-day shows how little interest is at present taken at home in their condition. We see what a dense wall of ignorance and indifference we have to get through, and although I put some trust in the cheerful face and cheerful expressions of Mr. Atkins, I know that a great deal of work lies before us if we are to do any practical good for our countrymen in India. I quite agree that it would be much better if we could do European work without European men in India, but that is impossible ; there they are, and there they must be for very many years to come, and we must do our best for them by pressing their condition upon the attention of the Government, and also by endeavouring to raise up associations in England by which their case may be brought before the people of England, and they be induced to give their help. If one quarter of the money was sent out to Europeans that is now very properly sent out for the work of the conversion of India, we should

be able with that money to do all that is necessary for the European children of the country. It is practical effort, and not theoretical conversations, that we require in England for India. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen,—Before I came here I read the paper of the Venerable Archdeacon's with very great interest, and I need hardly say that I have listened to the discussion we have had here to-day with not less interest or instruction. I shall not detain you with any lengthy remarks or opinions of my own upon this subject. It is quite sufficient for me to say that I entirely sympathize, as everyone must do, with the object of the paper, and with the opinions we have heard expressed by the lady and gentlemen who have addressed us. It will be more to the point if I say something which I think is of a practical description as regards the action which this Society will probably take. I, of course, am not in a position to commit the Society to any defined course of action, but I can say, on my own behalf as a Member of the Council, and on behalf of the other Members of the Council whom I see here present, that at the very next meeting of the Council this subject will be most carefully considered by Members, and that we will use every endeavour to ventilate the views of the lecturer, either by drawing up a Memorial to Parliament, or some other course of action that may seem advisable or possible under the circumstances. I agree very much with the remark which fell from Mr. Atkins, that a great deal may be done by arousing public interest in this country by holding meetings of the working classes. We all know where the votes lie in this country now. I need not tell you that the working classes of this country have a power now which they had not before, and it is their own fault if they cannot obtain for their fellow-countrymen in India the different benefits which they, by their action, have been able to obtain for themselves in this country; and, therefore, however much may be done by Societies like ours, or by the spasmodic efforts of individuals, I think that the great action which alone will be effectual must be derived from the working classes of England sympathizing, as they very properly should, with their fellow-countrymen in India. And now, gentlemen, I have to perform, before sitting down, a very pleasing task, viz. to propose a very hearty vote of thanks to the Venerable Archdeacon Baly, who has been so kind as to deliver before this Society one of the most interesting and practical lectures that we have ever had. (Hear, hear.) This Society, I think, has done a great deal of good, and I hope it will do more in future. I do not think the Members of it could really address themselves to a more important

subject. We have had, it is true, a very small meeting here to-day, but the importance of a meeting must not always, I venture to think, be gauged by its size ; it must be measured by the practical opinions which are expressed at it, and I have never heard before this Society a more interesting and practical and sensible discussion than we have heard here to-day. (Cheers.) I now propose a hearty vote of thanks to the Venerable Archdeacon.

The motion was seconded by Mr. C. W. ARATHOON, and carried unanimously.

The Venerable Archdeacon briefly replied, and the meeting terminated.

THE PRESERVATION OF WILD BIRDS IN INDIA,
PAPER BY ROBERT H. ELLIOT, ESQ.,
READ AT A MEETING OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,
ON FRIDAY, JULY 11th, 1884.

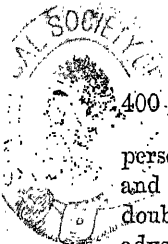
PROFESSOR FLOWER, LL.D., F.R.S.,

IN THE CHAIR.

A MEETING of the members and friends of the East India Association was held on Friday, July 11th, in the Rooms of the Zoological Society, Hanover Square, the subject for consideration being, "The Preservation of Wild Birds in India," introduced in a paper read by Robert H. Elliot, Esq.

Professor FLOWER, LL.D., F.R.S., Director of the British Museum (Natural History), and President of the Zoological Society of London, occupied the chair, and amongst those present were the following:—Sir R. Payne Gallwey, Bart.; Sir Henry Ingilby, Bart.; Sir Joseph Fayrer, M.D., K.C.S.I.; Lady Marjoribanks; Lady Willes; The Hon. Mrs. Elliot; Mr. J. R. Bullen Smith, C.S.I.; Major-General R. M. Macdonald; Rev. H. G. Jebb; Rev. J. Crompton Sowerbutts; Dr. Hamilton; Mr. R. A. Anderson; Mr. C. W. Arathoon; Mr. Hyde Clarke; Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy; Mr. Herbert Druce; Mr. J. G. Ferrand; Mr. H. W. Freeland; Mr. A. Grote; Mr. E. Hargill; Mr. J. E. Harting; Mr. B. S. Mankar; Mr. C. M. M. Miller; Mr. Howard Saunders; Mr. P. L. Sclater; Mr. John Shaw (Madras); Mr. C. Tyler; Mr. S. E. Waller; Mr. W. Hamilton Burn (Secretary).

The CHAIRMAN in opening the meeting said:—Ladies and gentlemen, before proceeding with the business for which we have met together, I may mention that I have received a letter from Professor Alfred Newton, of Cambridge, who, as you all know, has taken a very great interest in the preservation of birds in this country, in which he expresses his great regret at being unable to be present and take part in the proceedings. We have assembled here to-day to hear and discuss a paper by Mr. Elliot, on the need of a Wild Birds' Protection Act for India. It is a subject to which I am afraid I cannot contribute much myself, as it is one on which I have very little



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personal knowledge; but I have great pleasure in taking the chair and listening to what may be said upon it by others. I have no doubt we shall learn much that will prove of interest to all who advocate the preservation of birds; there are certainly difficulties in devising any measure of protection which will be efficient. But I hope we shall hear from Mr. Elliot how those difficulties may be met. Always, when the interests of man and those of the lower animals come into conflict, there are difficulties of many kinds to be overcome; there is first the interference with the liberty that man claims for himself to use animals for his advantage, and other general considerations of that kind, and there are also in this case, local questions in connection with India, about which I am not in a position to express any opinion; but as there are several gentlemen here of great administrative experience in that country, I hope they will give us the benefit of their opinion. Without any further remarks, I will now ask Mr. Elliot to read his paper.

Mr. ROBERT H. ELLIOT then read the following paper:—

We have assembled here this afternoon to consider the steps that should be taken to restore and maintain that balance of nature which has been injuriously affected by the indiscriminate destruction of Indian birds for the sake of their plumage, and, in the course of the discussion that will follow the brief introductory remarks I have to offer, we hope to elicit full and important opinions from those who have paid attention to the subject of the value of birds as insect-eaters.

Gentlemen,—I believe that every civilized Government in the world, with the exception of that of India, has recognized the value of birds as insect-eaters, and adopted measures for their preservation; and though, as in the case of the undue preservation of sparrows, some of those measures may need amendment, the general opinion stands that birds are of undoubted value in maintaining the balance of nature. That being so, it is of course unnecessary to enter into elaborate details to show that birds are quite as valuable in India as in other countries. Still less is it necessary to enumerate the species which, from their insectivorous habits, are most serviceable to man. I may, however, in illustration, mention the Jay, Kingfisher, many kinds of Woodpeckers, Thrushes, and Titmice. All these are sought in India for their plumage, and there can be no doubt of their use as insect-eaters. The value of such birds to the planter and the agriculturist has been fully recognized by the Government of Madras, which, some years ago, applied to the Supreme Government for a Preservation

Act. After a long delay, there descended from Simla a single sentence, declaring that the Viceroy in Council was not prepared to legislate in order "to prevent the indiscriminate destruction of wild birds for the sake of their plumage." In the case of Mysore, I am happy to say, we have been more fortunate. The Planters' Associations of that State lately asked for an Act. A petition was also signed by native farmers and coffee-garden owners who, I need hardly say, are fully aware of the value of birds. The Prime Minister promptly requested the planters to submit a measure for consideration, and we hope, before long, to have our beautiful and valuable birds efficiently protected. I may pause here to give an illustration or two of the value of birds to the coffee-planting interests in India. Those interests are very injuriously affected by the Borer fly. This insect lays its eggs just within the bark, generally speaking. From these eggs are developed very powerful grubs which are called borers, which bore the trees, and in this way vast quantities of coffee in the south of India have been destroyed. I may also mention in connection with this subject, that when the Madras Government appealed to the Supreme Government for legislation on the subject, it pointed out that there was hardly a year went by without numerous complaints coming in to the Government of the attacks of insects of all kinds on crops—attacks by locusts, attacks by insects as regards sugar-cane and rice-fields, and attacks by other insects as regards coffee. It was on account of all these complaints that came in, that the Government of Madras looked into the subject, and, after ascertaining the large amount of destruction that was going on, applied to the Supreme Government for a Wild Birds' Preservation Act. I may also mention that the valuable chinchona trees which you have all heard of, are also liable to attacks of insects. They suffer in particular from the attacks of caterpillars, which the birds seek out and destroy. In looking over an article in the Entomological Society's Journal whilst waiting in these rooms the other day, I accidentally came across an instance of the kind: it related to Ceylon, but no doubt it applies equally to India. The writer of the paper, Mr. George Lewis, pointed out that he had often seen early in the morning birds going round the chinchonas and picking off the caterpillars. It is of course needless to multiply these illustrations, but they might be multiplied to an almost indefinite extent. Let me now say a few words on the rapid rate at which destruction is proceeding.

As the most convenient season for the destruction of birds is during the fine weather that succeeds the heavy rains of the monsoons, and as this season is also the breeding season, the destruction of birds

proceeds at such a rate as must soon lead to almost absolute extermination, unless preservative measures are immediately adopted. And the rapid progress towards extermination is clearly shown by last year's export returns from the port of Madras, the particulars of which I have given in a foot-note.* For, seeing that the taste for bright feathers, and their employment for various decorative purposes, is spreading, the decline in the exports proves that the supplies of birds are already running short, or, in other words, that we are rapidly advancing on the road towards extermination. And that birds can be very rapidly exterminated we know from experience in other countries. From Bogota, in South America, large supplies of skins and feathers once came. Now none come. The Quezal, or Trogon of Guatemala, has been exterminated in districts where once it was common, and is now only to be found from three to four hundred miles inland. My own experience too has shown me how rapidly the process of extermination proceeds. In 1879, when I visited my plantations in Mysore, bright-plumaged birds were numerous. When I returned in 1881 their numbers had perceptibly diminished. Towards the close of last year, when I again visited my estates, the decrease of birds was so marked, that I instituted inquiries, and soon found the cause, which I had not previously suspected, and you will not wonder at their rapid diminution when I tell you that, quite early in a recent season, a single bird-catcher in my district had secured four hundred skins. My own observation, it is worthy of remark, exactly corresponds with the conclusion to be arrived at from a study of the export returns, *i.e.* the great decline of exports in 1883 corresponds with my personal observation of the decline in the numbers of the birds. Let me next state the measures necessary for preserving the birds of India, and also for promoting their increase, in parts of the country where, from the absence of woods, but few birds at present exist.

To attempt to frame a measure suited to the varying conditions

* I have obtained the following return, which exhibits the shipments from the port of Madras alone:—

BIRDS' FEATHERS.		BIRDS' SKINS.	
Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
1881.....122,175	Rs. 16,625	82,400	Rs. 19,880
1882.....105,515	„ 19,980	98,300	„ 20,958
1881.....367,750	„ 26,660	11,275	„ 1,660

As most of these exports go to Hong Kong and Singapore, it is fair to conclude that Asia East of India has already become exhausted of bright-plumaged birds. It would be interesting to ascertain the exports from the numerous ports on the western side of India, which, from the quantity of woodland towards the west, probably far exceed the exports from Madras.

that exist throughout our vast Eastern Empire would entail so much discussion, and consequent delay, that the introduction of such an Act would probably be contemporaneous with the destruction of the last specimens of the bright-plumaged birds of India. It is obvious, then, that the only practicable course open is to instruct the subordinate governments to frame, and at once put in force, rules suitable to their own territories, as, for instance, was done in the case of the early forest laws. As far as the people generally are concerned, there would be no objection to bird-preserving, for, as we have seen in the case of the peasantry of Mysore, they are well aware of the value of birds as insect-eaters. After about a year from the date of the enforcement of preservative measures, the exportation of skins and feathers should be prohibited, as this would most effectively aid in checking any attempt to evade the laws. But to promote the increase of birds, and spread them throughout the length and breadth of the land, is not less important than to prevent their destruction, and in order to effect this, plantations should be formed on the waste lands of every village. I may mention here that Dr. Bidie, in his Report to the Madras Government, said that the destruction of the groves throughout the country, which had taken place to a very large extent, was very prejudicial (as of course it would be) to the increase and preservation of birds. Such plantations would at once shelter the birds, provide fuel (to the saving of the manure now used for that purpose), wood for building and agricultural purposes, shelter for grass and crops, promote the conservation of water, and effect a general amelioration of the climate. Let me now briefly allude to bird-preserving, from a revenue point of view.

On examining the return of exports and value of feathers and skins, we are at once struck with the fact that the Government has not only been so negligent of the agricultural interests of India as to sanction the destruction of vast numbers of valuable insect-eaters, but, in addition, has been so weak as to bestow on the exporters (I say exporters, as it is obvious that the bird-catchers get mere wages) of the feathers large sums of money which ought to have found their way into the Imperial Exchequer. The Government, as many of you are no doubt aware, preserves wild elephants, and derives from them a source of profit. On what principle, then, it may well be asked, has it given away a much more valuable product of our forests—bright-plumaged birds? Had these been treated as State property—which they undoubtedly are—and had a close-time been established, and a certain proportion of the birds been caught annually by the Government, comparatively speaking little harm would have resulted,

and the State would have obtained an annual source of revenue. Now, of course, after the melancholy destruction that has taken place, even if the measures I have suggested were at once adopted, many years must elapse before it would be prudent to attempt to derive a revenue from the birds. But when they become very numerous (which they certainly will, if plantations are formed as I propose), I see no reason why a revenue might not be derived from them. We have remarked on the destruction of bright-plumaged birds in other countries, and it is clear that, as the work of extermination extends, the price of skins and feathers must much increase, so that it is almost certain that, at some future period, a small annual take of birds would yield to the State a considerable sum. To show what the Government has already thrown away, or rather presented as a premium to the exporters, I may say that, if the exports from the other ports at all correspond to those from Madras (and there is no reason to suppose that they do not), it would be a moderate statement to say that, within the last ten years alone, the State has sacrificed half-a-million of pounds sterling.

We have now seen that the advantage of birds is undoubted, and that their preservation demands immediate attention. Nor have I ever heard but one objection made to preserving, and that was founded on incorrect information. It was alleged by the objector that to stop the destruction of birds would be to diminish the means by which wild, or hill tribes exist. So far as I can discover, such tribes do not destroy bright-plumaged birds. They are generally caught by Bhelias—wandering gangs of vagabonds, who plunder whatever they can find, and often make bird-catching a shield to other and more objectionable designs. Such vagabonds existed before the trade in feathers arose; they will equally continue to do so after its suppression, or after they themselves have abolished the trade by exterminating (which they assuredly will do if unchecked) the bright-plumaged birds of India. In my part of India I may say that the natives never touch these birds: the exporters of feathers on the coast are the people who employ these wandering rascals and send them up into the country, and they catch the birds and take the skins down to the coast.

Finally, let me remark on the need for establishing a close-time for the protection of game-birds. Every civilized Government preserves them, with the exception of that of India, which, with two unimportant exceptions, allows them to be destroyed in any way, and at any season of the year. To act thus, is, of course, simply to extinguish a valuable source of food. The almost absolute extermination of game-birds (which live largely on insects, it may be observed) has already been

accomplished in many parts of India. As to the rapidity of this extermination, I can myself bear witness, as Pea-Fowl, Jungle-Fowl, Spur-Fowl and the Imperial Pigeon, have been almost exterminated along the Western districts of Mysore. When last in India, I saw during a three months' visit one specimen of the Imperial Pigeon, which I regarded as a curiosity. The shrill call of the Jungle-Cock, once such a familiar sound, is no longer to be heard, and the extermination of this bird has been accomplished with a completeness I could never have credited had I not had ample opportunities of observing the fact. Towards the close of last and the beginning of this year, I drove through upwards of one hundred miles of woodland without seeing a single specimen, though I may mention that one was seen by my servant. As regards Pea-Fowl, from inquiries I made from the natives, not a specimen is supposed to exist in the neighbourhood of my plantations and for many miles around. I can only regard it a folly and a crime thus to permit the extermination of game-birds throughout the land. Had a close-time been established they would have yielded annually-increasing supplies of food, and, in the case of some of them, valuable feathers. But I have probably said enough to show that game-birds, as well as birds sought solely for their plumage, ought to be placed under the protection of the State.

In conclusion, permit me to point out that legislation as between man and nature is of far more urgent importance than as between man and man, because, whatever the laws may be which affect our relations with each other, there is an accommodating power always at work which answers fairly well for the existing needs and circumstances of the times, and which largely modifies the worst evils that society is liable to suffer from. My ancestors on the Borders, for instance, were, in the olden days, unfortunately compelled to exist to a great extent by plundering the English and the Scotch, who, of course, resented this process by frequent inroads, from which the Borderers suffered severely, while such spare time as was left to them they seem to have filled up by fighting amongst themselves. And yet, under those trying circumstances, we know that the Borderers did contrive to exist. The explanation is that, as war to the knife would soon have ended in extermination, the accommodating power stepped in to economize life, and acted so well, that I may confidently assure you that no ancestor of mine would ever have deprived a man of his life unless it was unfortunately necessary to do so in order to take possession of his property. I recollect mentioning that once to a very eminent statesman, and his ready reply was this, "Of course not, it would never have done for them to kill their customers." (Laughter.)

That shows what the "accommodating power" is. And you will find the same adjusting principle existing amongst the fierce tribes of our northern frontiers, where the Hindu trader pursues his business in safety, because his services are appreciated by the community. But, gentlemen, there is unfortunately no such accommodating power in the case of man and the things in nature; and though nature has a sure revenge, and strikes with iron hands, yet we must remember that she approaches with leaden feet, and so gradually and silently, that it is seldom that attention is effectually called to the destructive agency of man in time to avert those evils which must arise when the balance of nature is destroyed or impaired. In short, while man is always represented in some form or other, and while, therefore, in his case, legislation may for long be delayed, nature, being unrepresented, ever needs the vigilance and timely action of the legislator. Prompt attention, then, is needed in order to extend throughout the length and breadth of India those woods which are necessary for the use of man, and birds, and the amelioration of the climate. Not less attention is required to preserve and promote the increase of those birds which so largely aid in preventing an injurious increase of insect-life. Let us, then, do what we can to represent the cause of nature, and endeavour, on behalf of the beautiful and useful wild birds of India, to bring about a measure for the restoration, and preservation, of that balance of nature which has been, and is now being, so grievously injured by the negligence of the Indian Government.

Mr. ARTHUR GROTE: Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—I left India some years ago, and my residence there was confined to the opposite side of the country to that of which Mr. Elliot has spoken; I was always in Bengal; and I am surprised to hear of there being such a large export of birds from Madras and the Western Coast. So far as my experience went, in Calcutta there was a considerable export of Kingfishers, the skins of which mostly went to China. That has been an established trade for some time; but with the exception of that, and the trade in Egret feathers, I do not think there has been any general export of birds' skins from Bengal.

Mr. ELLIOT: How long ago is that?

Mr. GROTE: It is sixteen years since I left. I can quite conceive that down in the Neilgherries and in other parts there may be a much larger demand for bright-plumaged birds; and I am glad to hear from Mr. Elliot that the planters of Mysore have had sufficient influence to get an Act passed or promised.

Mr. ELLIOT: That is only for the Province of Mysore, which of course is quite a small part of India.

Mr. GROTE: Quite so. What Mr. Elliot says about the balance of nature is well known to us all; wherever insect-feeding birds are extensively destroyed, there must be an increase of insect-life. Insects are the cause of much worry to the coffee-planters, and also to the tea-growers in Bengal; it seems to me, however, that the answer of the Viceroy in Council that he was not prepared to legislate to prevent the indiscriminate destruction of wild birds was the only course open to the Government, considering the enormous tracts of country which India contains. I can quite believe that local measures may be necessary and advisable. I do not know that I can usefully add any more to the discussion, as my Indian experience is not very recent.

Mr. ELLIOT: It is probably this side of sixteen years that this great destruction has commenced. I have not been able to get the export returns from the Western Coast; I have only given the returns from Madras.

Mr. GROTE: You do not refer to collections made by zoological collectors?

Mr. ELLIOT: Oh, no; but they are exported for the purposes of trade very largely. I am sure that India would be very happy to spare this Society or any other any number of birds; I am referring only to the great export trade carried on for the sake of the feathers and skins.

Sir JOSEPH FAYRER: Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—I had hoped that there would be other and older Indians than myself present (and probably there may be) who have had more recent experience and who would be able to say something of interest on the subject. As you know, my experience of India is now somewhat remote, it is some years since I was there. I confess that I have much sympathy with Mr. Elliot, but am afraid that the measures he proposes are not very likely to be carried into effect. I can quite understand and agree with Mr. Grote, that there will be considerable difficulty in persuading the Imperial Government to interfere in such a matter, although I can well understand that by expressing sympathy with the movement, they might influence the local governments to take such a part in it as might seem expedient. I can remember also the

exportation of Kingfishers, to which Mr. Grote has referred, but I think it was not by any means confined to the Sunderbunds. I remember in my expeditions into the interior, seeing men with little batches of Kingfishers' skins laid out to dry and preserve. But I did not know that any great exportation of the skins of other birds took place. I believe that it is difficult now to get a Tragopan or a Monaul or any of those Himalaya Pheasants which used at one time to be easily procurable. I understand that numbers of these skins are exported, and that the birds are rapidly being destroyed for the sake, not of science, but for decorating the bonnets and dresses of some of the ladies who are such active supporters of the Anti-Vivisection agitation. (Laughter.) I was not aware until I heard Mr. Elliot's paper, that birds were useful to such a large extent in the destruction of insects; of course this only gives weight to his argument that the birds themselves should be preserved. I have had some little experience in endeavouring to get legislative interference exercised throughout the length and breadth of India in respect of destruction of possum snakes. People are sometimes apt to forget that the Indian Peninsula is nearly as large as the whole of Europe excluding Russia, and there are no doubt great difficulties in interfering in such matters; but still I agree with Mr. Elliot that it might be possible, perhaps, locally here and there, where the need is greatest on the part of the local authorities, to exercise some interference, and perhaps the reading of this paper and the fact of its having attracted notice, may be the commencement of something which will lead to it. I am bound to say that I have not known any intentional neglect on the part of either the Imperial or the Subordinate Governments, to do anything by which they might do good to the Europeans or to the people of the country; at all events, such has been my experience. (Hear, hear.) I have nothing further to say on the subject, except just to repeat that I sympathize with Mr. Elliot, and I am glad that he has brought the subject forward. Perhaps it would have been better had he left out his strictures on the Indian Government; they can do no good even if they do no harm; and will not facilitate matters in the least; I think he might have said quite as well what he wished to say without that, and been as likely to obtain the desired object.

Mr. R. BOWDLER SHARPE: Mr. Chairman,—I should like to ask Mr. Elliot one question with regard to his paper; I presume his visits to his estates in Mysore were always at about the same time of the year?

Mr. ELLIOT: Very nearly.

Mr. SHARPE: Mr. Elliot knows, I dare say, that whether the migration season has or has not taken place might make a very great difference in the number of birds in the forests.

Mr. ELLIOT: I am well aware of that; I had thought about that.

Mr. SHARPE: I expected so. When Mr. Elliot mentions the Jay, the Kingfisher, the Woodpecker, and so on, it is right to remind you that the bird which is spoken of in England as a Jay, is not a Jay at all in India in our sense of the word; it is the Indian Roller (*Coracias indica*), which is a very different thing. If you were to try to get legislation for the protection of Jays, I am certain that some of the odium which attaches to them in this country would work against them in India; but when you know that it is the Roller that is meant—an insect-eating bird, which does a great deal of good, and which is merely shot down for the sake of its plumage—then the cases are entirely different, and Mr. Elliot's argument is very much strengthened. There is not the least doubt that if the destruction of these insect-eating birds is carried on, not only in India, but in any country under the sun, so in proportion will those countries suffer from the ravages of insects. It is certain from what both Mr. Grote and Sir Joseph Fayrer said that it would be extremely difficult for the Imperial Government to legislate in this matter; but there is one way which has been suggested by Mr. Elliot, which it seems to me would be effective, and that is, to get up such an agitation as would bring home not only to the Indian Government but to the British Government here, the importance of this subject; if you were to prohibit the exportation of these birds, either to China or to England, you would at once take away the *raison d'être* of the plume-hunter's occupation. It certainly is quite as necessary to view this matter from the English point of view as regards exportation as it is to consider it from an Indian point of view. These bright-plumaged Kingfishers—*Halcyon smyrnensis* and *H. pileata*—are the birds which are mostly imported to China. Vast numbers of the unfortunate Rollers come to England, where they are used, I am sorry to say, for nothing else than the purpose of decorating hats and bonnets. The suppression of this slaughter is a matter which I have always advocated very strongly in the course of all my popular lectures throughout the country; and I have urged that we ought to take severe steps to put a stop to this

wholesale decoration of bonnets by means of the bright plumage of birds; but although I have often heard cries of "shame" from the audience, I have never seen that my remarks have ever had any practical value—(laughter)—or that there has been the slightest diminution of ornamentation in this respect. I think it is a great thing to have got practical men like Mr. Elliot under the auspices of this well-known Association to join hands with British naturalists as they have done in the meeting this afternoon. It would seem that we are really, at last, in a position to begin a serious agitation on the question; and if anybody wishes to know what kind of destruction of bright-plumaged birds goes on, they have only to go down to one of the sale-houses in the City of London, where they will see not only the Monauls and Tragopans of Bengal, but the little Sunbirds and glossy Starlings of Africa being sold in enormous quantities. When you come to hear of 32,000 Humming-Birds of one species being disposed of in a single lot at twopence-halfpenny a piece by public auction in London, I think it is bickering, and it is time not only for Englishmen, but especially for English ladies, to consider whether they will have any hand in such wholesale destruction of innocent creatures, such as all birds are, but of such really useful things as the insect-eating birds are known to be. (Hear, hear.)

MR. HYDE CLARKE: Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—My experience, something like that of my neighbour, Mr. Grote, is ancient; for a quarter of a century ago I was Agent for the Planters' Association in the district with which Mr. Elliot is so well acquainted, and necessarily I have been led to watch this matter with very great interest. It is a serious and important matter to all who watch the progress or the decline of coffee-cultivation the way in which the Borer has in different parts of the world, and particularly in India and in Ceylon, almost exterminated this product. It is a very serious matter for our planters, and a matter of immediate pecuniary interest to our commerce and our revenue. There is one little matter in which I might differ from Mr. Elliot, and that is with regard to the birds eating locusts. I have had a great deal to do with that subject as a Commissioner in the East, and so far as I know the birds—if at all—generally speaking, in most countries, tackle locusts at the last moment in the flight, and they do very little in the capture of locusts in the earlier stages. But there is experience in connection with locusts which would, I think, remove the objections that have in a very small way been raised to the practicability of Mr. Elliot's suggestions. It has been very justly put to us by our friends on the

right, that India is a country as large as Europe, and therefore we must not talk of applying sweeping measures to wild birds. It is likewise a country where there are districts with very thin populations. If, however, we look at the way in which the locusts are dealt with in various countries, generally speaking in thinly-populated and hilly districts, we may believe it is possible to apply some principle of legislation and administration to the safety of the birds as it is applied to the destruction of locusts. My friend, Mr. Freeland, knows that in China for centuries—for ages upon ages—the destruction of locusts has been the care of the Imperial Government; it has been so in Turkey for many centuries, and it is likewise so in Russia. Even in very thinly-peopled districts it is possible to destroy and thin down the locusts. Then it must be possible, under similar circumstances, in India, to exercise some degree of care in the preservation of animals which are so useful as birds. The measure which Mr. Elliot suggests seems not to have met with any objection from those who are acquainted with the practical nature of the subject. He proposes not to have, in the ordinary sense, a general measure from the Legislature of India, but that the Government should authorize the local authorities according to their experience and according to their notion of expediency to adopt local measures suitable to their various populations, for the purpose of carrying out some measure of protection. Mr. Elliot has not only referred to coffee, but likewise to a newer article of the greatest importance to the trade of India which has come into cultivation since the period to which I refer, and that is chinchona. It is a matter of very grave and great importance to India that this cultivation should be protected. It might be as well even to step out of the way to do that; but when we find that the simplest practical measures are sufficient to do a great deal of good, it is to be hoped that Mr. Elliot will be supported, not only by the members of so the East India Association, but by naturalists who are well qualified to know the practical details of the question.

Mr. GROTE: I do not know that any special insectivora of the chinchona has yet turned up, but I understand Mr. Elliot to suggest that.

Mr. ELLIOT: I have already given my authority for the statement. I discovered it the other day in looking over the Entomological Society's Journals which are upstairs. This gentleman was giving it as an illustration of the way in which birds could readily detect quite

green insects; it was with reference to the colour of insects. He mentions that in Ceylon he had seen the birds making their rounds in the morning, and that they had no difficulty in picking out these insects, though as green as the leaves they were upon. That came to my notice quite accidentally. I have said that caterpillars exist in Ceylon, and of course on the neighbouring coasts they would do so too.

Mr. P. L. SCLATER, F.R.S.: Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—I cannot speak from any personal experience, either direct or indirect, as to the facts which Mr. Elliot gives in his paper. But if these facts have, as I have no doubt they have, been put before us accurately, then I think that Mr. Elliot has made out his case very well. With some of the various arguments put forward by Mr. Elliot I cannot quite agree. I think, for example, it would be a very great mistake to induce the Government of India to raise a revenue from a duty upon bird-skins. I think that it would be better, if it is determined that it would not be in the interests of the people of India, that the assault on birds should continue, that the trade in bird-skins should be prohibited altogether, and not merely an additional price put upon the skins by raising a revenue from them. However, supposing Mr. Elliot's facts to be correct, and that there is a great destruction of birds in India, I think most naturalists will agree that some control should be put upon it, and I think we shall all agree with Mr. Elliot that the best way of doing that would be by inducing the Supreme Government not to throw cold water upon, but, on the contrary, to encourage the attempts of the subordinate Governments to introduce in each district certain laws adapted to that district for the preservation of the various birds. There are, however, one or two points in which I should take exception to the various Acts which have been from time to time passed both in this country and in some of the Colonies. I think that a law for the protection of birds should include all birds. I think it is a great mistake to specify in the Schedules to the Acts, as is now done, certain birds that are to be protected, and to leave out others altogether. I think that all birds should be protected during the breeding-season at least. We must recollect that if we exclude certain sorts of birds from these Acts we thereby invite their destruction; and there is no doubt, in my mind at least, that even the various birds which it is supposed to be a good thing to exterminate, contribute as much to the preservation of life of the smaller species as the protection of those smaller species only would do, because we all know that birds of prey carry off the weaker

members of these insect-eating birds, and thereby, as we may be certain, increase the fecundity and improve the race of the smaller and weaker birds on which they subsist. Therefore I think that any Act passed in any district should be for the protection of all birds during a certain season, whatever season is most adapted to the particular district for which the Act is intended to be enforced. I think also that it is a great mistake to legislate only for the protection of game-birds. I have always looked upon the Game Laws in this country as being objectionable in many respects; at the same time I think they produce very great results in the general protection of bird-life which they have enforced, because, of course, a keeper, although he is mainly employed in the protection of his Partridges and Pheasants, at the same time protects the whole of the birds in his district, because he does not allow them to be unnecessarily shot down. But in future Acts I think it would be a great mistake to take out a certain number of birds and call them game-birds, and say that they are to be protected only. Any law which is passed for the protection of birds should include all birds, and the law should vary according to the district in which it is to be enforced. I would suggest to Mr. Elliot that if he thinks the sympathies of this audience are sufficiently with him he might, in order to bring what has been said to something practical, propose a definite resolution of some sort on the subject. It would be very easy to draw one up at once. (Cheers.)

Mr. B. S. MANKAR: Mr. President, ladies, and gentlemen,—I am glad that Mr. Elliot has read this paper, because I know there are many persons in India who are averse to anything which would sanction the killing of birds, whether wild birds or any other. There are persons in India who do not like to kill animals of any kind. I do not speak from a religious point of view, but they do not like to kill birds, for many reasons. India being an agricultural country, the agricultural interests of that country must be looked after, and it certainly would not promote the interests of the agricultural people if wild birds are allowed to be killed. There are many reasons why wild birds should be preserved. Natural history tells us that they have many uses. I need not mention them here because I should be taking up your time, but I believe every one in India will be glad that Mr. Elliot has read his paper. Of course we are all of us in sympathy with Mr. Elliot's objects, and I am sure the day will come when the Indian Government will adopt such measures as Mr. Elliot has advocated. I am not aware that the history of ancient India tells us that these wild birds were killed. There were many princes who

took a great interest in the preservation of these birds, although they did not know them to be of use, still they had religious objections to their being killed. There are now many persons in India who would not like to see these birds killed, because they have a great regard for animal life. Then another thing I would like to mention is this. It is written in some of the sacred books of India that proper regard must be had for the lower animals, and I believe that that is one of the reasons that prevent Indians from killing birds. I thank Mr. Elliot for reading his paper, because it will explain to the natives of India of what great usefulness birds are. Many of them, not knowing the English language, have not the opportunity of reading natural history. I cordially agree with the views of Mr. Elliot, and hope that the Government of India will take some measures to prevent this destruction of birds.

Mr. MANECKJEE BYRAMJEE DADABHOY said he thought that the suggestions made by Mr. Elliot would be approved by the refined inhabitants of India, because the measures which he had proposed were quite consistent with the natural state of India. It would, however, be found impossible and quite impracticable for the Government of India to interfere in the matter. He would suggest, instead of imploring the Government to pass some Act, associations should be formed amongst the educated classes of India for the preservation of these birds. Although any law that might be passed would doubtless be obeyed by the loyal natives, the formation of institutions amongst themselves would tend more to the protection of these creatures. Some of the castes had a prejudice against killing birds, whilst others had a strong antipathy against their living. He was sure that the natives of India would be very pleased to hear of the reading of this paper by Mr. Elliot. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. E. HARTING: Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—I listened with great attention to the paper read by Mr. Elliot; but I did not gather from him in what way he expects that English ornithologists can aid him in carrying out the object that he has in view. Is it likely that the Government of India will listen to representations made by individuals resident in this country upon a question of proposed legislation in India on a subject upon which the people there are likely to know far more than we do? If the facts stated by Mr. Elliot are correct (as no doubt they are), a large number of insectivorous birds are being destroyed, in consequence of which the plantations suffer from the depredations of injurious insects. It seems

to me that the better course would be for petitions to be sent to the Government by the planters resident in the districts affected. We all know that to endeavour to bring about legislation upon such a point as this is attended with extreme difficulty. Experience is the great teacher of all things; and we know from experience that a few years ago, when a similar measure was sought to be introduced here in this country, there was very considerable difficulty in getting it passed. Now, if that was the case in a small country like this, where the number of birds known amounts only to about 400 (including about 130 rare and accidental visitants), how much greater will it be in India, where the number of recognized species at the present time, upon the most moderate computation, is over 1600. It seems to me that if Mr. Elliot and those whom he represents seek for skilled advice the better course will be to seek the appointment of a committee of Indian ornithologists, such as Mr. Hume, Mr. Davidson, the Messrs. Marshall, Mr. Blanford, Major Bingham, Lt.-Colonel Godwin Austen, and Major Butler, who have resided there, who know the country, or great portions of it, who are well acquainted with the habits of the birds, and who are well qualified to say what species should or should not be protected. If, as I would suggest, ~~steps be taken to form such~~ a committee as this, I think that more good will be done in that way, and it will be more speedily done than by any of the methods proposed by previous speakers. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen,—Before submitting the resolution which is about to be proposed to the meeting, I may perhaps be allowed to make two or three observations arising upon the discussion which we have just heard upon Mr. Elliot's paper. In the first place, it must occur to all of us that this destruction of birds going on in India is only a part, and, I am sorry to say, a very small part of a far more extensive movement—a revolutionary movement it may be called—in the relation of man to the rest of the animal world. Everywhere throughout the whole earth, and sea too, changes have been taking place during the present century in this respect with which there has been nothing to compare in any period of the world's history before. These changes are entirely owing to our rapid advance in social organization. The civilized races of men are now spreading over all the world, carrying with them scientific appliances for destruction of animals. This and the rapid growth of commerce and interchange of the produce of different countries is bringing about the destruction not only of these birds in India, but of species and whole groups of animals of every kind. Whales, seals, the elephants of

Africa, the bisons of America, and even the crocodiles, for the sake of their skins, are now threatened with a very speedy extermination. The subject is a very important one, and one which must be faced as a whole. In fact, I think now we must be prepared to see the fauna and the flora of many countries almost entirely changed under man's dominion. It is exceedingly difficult to suggest any satisfactory remedy. It must be looked upon as to a large extent inevitable; and we must seek compensation in other pleasures and advantages of life for those we are losing. One of the greatest difficulties in introducing laws to protect the lives of wild animals and birds is that injury is very often inflicted upon man by them. Laws introduced that cannot be enforced are a very great evil; and laws which make acts to be crimes that were not crimes before, and thus cause people to break the law by doing acts they consider innocent, occasion a great deal of injury. If the law can only be partially enforced, some people obeying it and others breaking it with impunity, it would be better not to introduce it at all. Before introducing a law of this sort, the Government must therefore very carefully consider whether it can be enforced impartially, and without introducing any of the many evils that followed, for instance, in the train of our game-laws. These questions will have to be considered by the persons who will have to do with the practical application of any resolution that we may pass to-day. I certainly agree with Mr. Selater that it would be very difficult to discriminate by law between one species of bird and another, especially when we remember that these laws will have to be translated into the different languages of India. We all know how difficult it is in this country, where the birds are pretty well known, to define what birds come properly under the different Preservation Acts, and which are exempt. Unless the law is made very wide and comprehensive, it will therefore be extremely difficult to carry out. The Government, in preparing and enforcing these laws, will have to obtain a great deal of information from ornithologists as to the habits and food of birds, and this is a matter upon which it is very difficult to get authorities to agree. There are many conflicting statements as to which birds are and which are not valuable for the destruction of insects. On the whole, therefore, it seems to me that the subject is by no means so easy and simple as it might at first sight seem. There is one other point which has not been alluded to by Mr. Elliot, or by any of the speakers this afternoon, and that is, what is the ultimate cause of the destruction of these birds? It is stated that they are destroyed for the sake of their feathers. Now, we may ask, who are they who purchase these feathers, and who are

they who use them? Is their use dependent on a fashion that may change all at once? We know that the fashion of wearing feathers among ladies in this country is one that developed itself very suddenly and caused immense destruction of birds. But it is a fashion that may soon change, and then the birds may be saved without the introduction of any vexatious laws. But I am afraid that the people of Eastern countries, such as China, are much more constant in relation to fashions than the ladies of this country; and if there is a steady persistent fashion for wearing feathers among them, we shall not be able to avoid the destruction of birds by endeavouring to get them to change it. On the whole, however, I think we shall all feel in this movement not only sentimental interest for the sake of our own pleasure and delight in seeing and hearing the birds in our woods, but also for their practical utility, which I think is fairly universally admitted in the preservation of important and valuable plants by the destruction of insects which feed upon them. It is a subject which certainly demands consideration. I am merely putting all these difficulties before you to show you that it is not one that we can enter into without full deliberation, and that we must not expect great things to be done all at once. I am glad that the subject has been brought under discussion, and we are all very much obliged to Mr. Elliot for introducing it to us in the way he has done, and hope that his paper will ultimately result in some practical good. (Cheers.)

Mr. ELLIOT: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—Before moving the following resolution I have one or two remarks to make. First of all, with reference to the gentleman who first spoke, as regards my strictures on the Government of India, I think that a little consideration would have shown him that they were not unreasonable. The Madras Government sent up papers to the Supreme Government, laying before the Supreme Government all the evidence that it could collect on the subject, and the Madras Government also sent up a formal resolution of its own Government, and the Governor-General in Council in reply declined to legislate in the way I have set out in my paper. The Madras Government was met with a curt refusal in the exact words I have given. Had it not been for that reply I should not have said that the Government of India had been neglecting its duties, because I quite agree with the gentleman opposite that the Government as a rule does look very carefully into any matters brought before it, whether in this country or in India, and I am able to testify to that from my own personal experience. (Hear, hear.) Then there was one remark which fell from Mr.

Sclater. He certainly mistook me slightly when he thought that I proposed that an export tax should be levied on birds. What I meant, and perhaps ought more clearly to have stated, was that I thought that, at some distant time, perhaps one hundred years hence, when these birds became more in demand from all parts of the world, the Government, by exercising its power and establishing a close-time, might farm these birds just as they now farm the elephants in their own forests or preserves, and derive a profit from their own woods. The Government now prevents people from taking elephants or wood for nothing, and I say that birds ought to fall under the same category, *i.e.*, ought to be treated as the property of the State. Then as regards the argument as to taking away the means of livelihood from the native tribes, I think I anticipated and answered that objection. I think if that subject is fully gone into it will be found that no tribe lives solely by catching these birds, although some tribes may adopt bird-catching as a kind of adjunct to their other avocations. Then as regards the difficulties of legislation for such a large country as India. When that legislation is carried out as I propose it should be, there would be no difficulty. We know we can have one piece of legislation for Ireland, and why should there not be so many different pieces of legislation for so many different Irelands in India? I think this objection as to the extent of India is not a very practical one, although I quite agree, as I have said, that to propose one Act for the whole of India would be impracticable. In reference to that I may recall the following anecdote told me many years ago by the brother of the then Persian Ambassador at Paris. He told me that once whilst out driving in Mysore, he wanted to cut a stick or switch, and went to a tree on the roadside. When beginning to cut a branch he was interrupted by a native who cried out, "That tree is sandalwood, the property of the State." He gave that as an illustration of how very easily the people of India are governed, and how they respect the property of the State. And I say, that not only do the natives not wish themselves to destroy these birds, but, if there were a law against their destruction, any depredators would be told by the natives that "The birds are the property of the State, and must not be touched." Well, ladies and gentlemen, I have to thank you very heartily for the way in which you have received my paper to-day, and listened to my remarks. I need hardly say that I have listened to the discussion that has ensued with very great interest. It will be reported in the JOURNAL of our Society, and I have no doubt by being spread abroad will bring about some good result. I have now the honour and the pleasure to bring before you the following

PRESERVATION OF WILD BIRDS IN INDIA.

resolution, which I think most of those here will agree with:—"It
"in the opinion of this meeting it is very desirable that the local
"authorities throughout India should be empowered to at once frame,
"and put in force, such regulations as may seem to them advisable for
"protecting the wild birds of India."

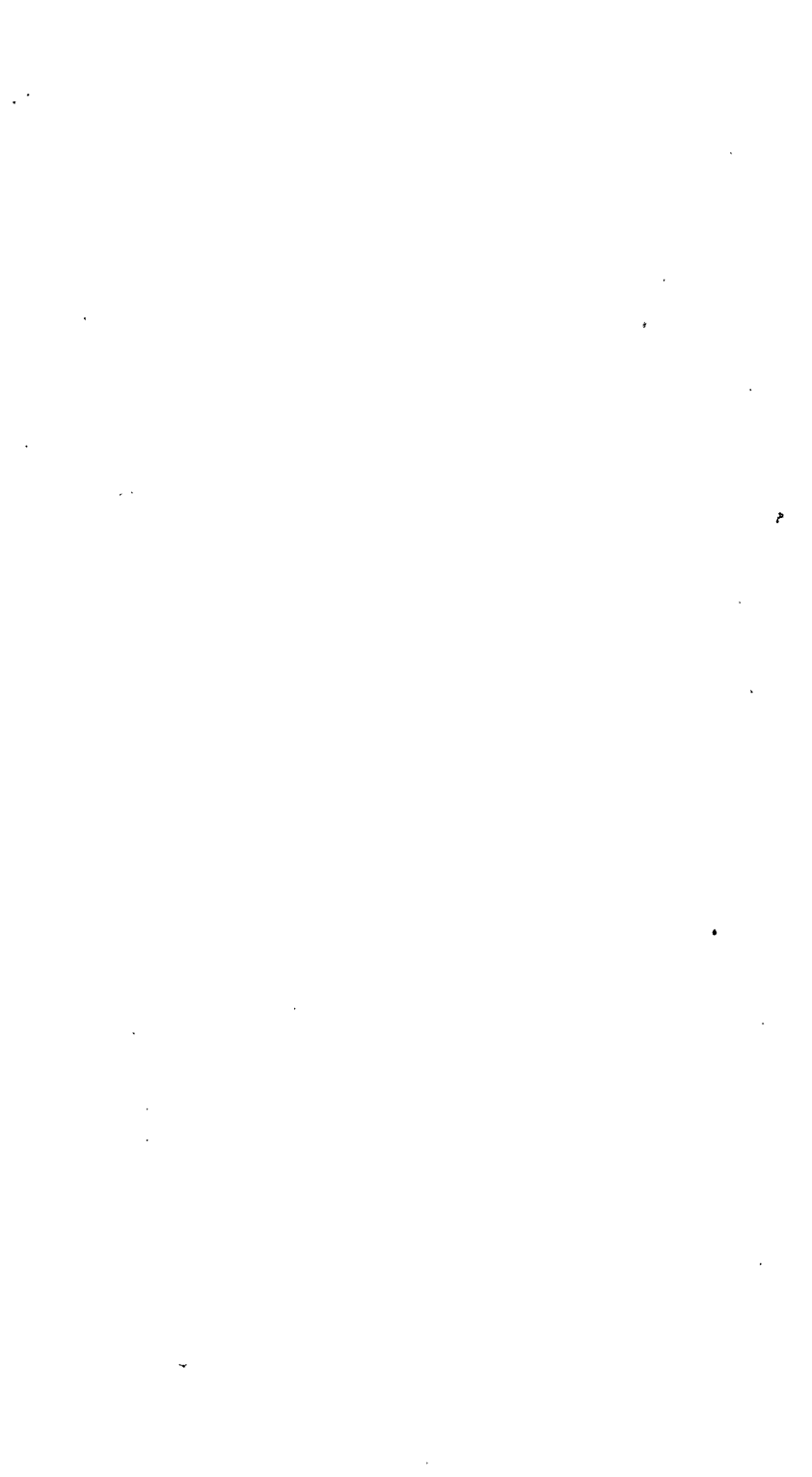
Mr. SCLATER: I have great pleasure in seconding that.
The resolution was put to the meeting and carried *nem. dis.*

Mr. ELLIOT: Ladies and gentlemen,—I have now very great pleasure in rising to propose a vote of thanks to Professor Flower for presiding. I need hardly tell you that gentlemen in his situation have their time very fully occupied with numerous and pressing duties, and I dare say that some of us here to-day do not really sufficiently appreciate the sacrifice of the time that Professor Flower has bestowed upon this important subject. I tender him my most hearty thanks on behalf of myself and of the East India Association, to which I have the honour to belong, and I am sure I may say also that we thank him very heartily for allowing us to hold this meeting here, and for having given us the use of this admirable room. (Hear, hear.) The hour is now late, and I will not further detain you, although there is much I should like to say as regards the valuable aid we have received from Professor Flower and from this Society. I beg to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Professor Flower for presiding, and to the Zoological Society for allowing us the use of this room.

Major-General R. M. MACDONALD seconded the resolution, which was carried.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen,—I am sure the Zoological Society is always very glad to do anything it can—indeed, we are very much obliged to Mr. Elliot for having given us this opportunity of showing how ready we are to do all we can—to further the objects for which we were founded. I thank you very much, gentlemen, for your vote of thanks.

The proceedings then terminated.



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